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THE

JUGURTHINE WAR

OF

C. SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS

BY

HOWARD VERNON CANTER, PH. D.

Associate in the Classics, University of Illinois

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

ATKINSON, MENTZER & COMPANY

BOSTON NEW YORK CHICAGO DALLAS

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PREFACE

No edition of the *Jugurthine War* has appeared in America for more than twenty years. Doubtless only the accident of its being twice the length of the *Catiline*—frequently edited—can explain the neglect of a more mature and serious work at the hands of editors and publishers. That the *Jugurtha* merits a wider reading than has generally been given it will scarcely be denied. Sallust's high rank as a writer and stylist is conceded both by antique and present day critics; his influence on Roman historiography was broad, and his contribution to the development of the Latin tongue was an important one. These facts should render unnecessary any apology for a new edition.

This work has no larger ambition than to be helpful to freshmen and sophomore students, with whom Sallust will likely be read, if read at all; helpful in reading Sallust with readiness and accuracy, and with an understanding of his position among Roman writers, alike as to department, syntax, and style. Students do not find Sallust an easy author, hence translations and comments have been given freely. Cross references have been purposely multiplied in the belief that an author's usage is best illustrated by examples from his own writings. However, numerous parallels also are given to exemplify Sallust's usage with reference to earlier writers and chosen models, or his influence on those who were conscious imitators of his style.

The text is based on that of Jordan (3rd edition 1887), with certain readings also from Maurenbrecher's recension (*Die Ueberlieferung der Jugurthalücke,* Halle, 1903) of Mss. containing the parts missing in the main class of codices. Devi-

ations in some of the more difficult readings are given with discussion in the Appendix, p. 171. The orthography and punctuation are in the main that of Schmalz (7th edition 1908).

The author gladly acknowledges indebtedness to his colleagues at the University of Illinois for generous assistance and advice in the preparation of this volume.

HOWARD VERNON CANTER.

CHAMPAIGN, *October, 1911.*

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INTRODUCTION

Roman History Before Sallust.

Before Sallust's age historical writing at Rome was too little developed in form and content to be considered a department of literature. The earliest historians were the so-called annalists, their compositions (*Annales*) being in unembellished, chronicle-like form, without any attempt at historical style. At first these were written in Greek, but later in Latin, notably by Cato the Censor (234-149 B. C.). It was not until the first century B. C., when the knowledge of Greek literature was more general, and contemporary history offered richer materials, that the historian began to treat his subject in a more scholarly way. This striking innovation was the achievement of Sallust, to whom is due also the method of fully treating special subjects or periods, rather than superficially covering the entire history of the past. His success in giving breadth and unity to historical writing, while enhancing its standard of literary excellence, made him the first scientific historian of Rome.

Life of Sallust.

(a) Sources: Sallust's writings reveal little or nothing of his own life. Our knowledge of the facts is based on occasional mention of him in other ancient writers. Some of these references are authentic, while others must be examined with caution. Unfortunately a large part of our biographical information rests on an extremely untrustworthy source—two *Invectives* of uncertain authorship—the subject matter of which is the well-known enmity between Cicero and Sallust.

(b) Family and Birth: Caius Sallustius Crispus, of ple-

beian origin, was the first of that name, so far as is known, to win public distinction at Rome. Of the other members of his immediate family we know nothing. However, his grand-nephew, adopted son and heir, Sallustius Crispus is mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* 1,6; 2,40; 3,30) as a man of ability and refinement, and is addressed as an intimate friend by Horace in one of his best known poems (*Od.* 2,2). The elder Sallust was born at Amiternum, a small town of the Sabine highlands, 86 B. C. He was thus fourteen years younger than Caesar and twenty younger than Cicero. His birth was at a time when the efforts of the great governing families at Rome to secure senatorial rule had left bitter memories; at a time when the tide of democracy was turning strongly toward popular reaction. Practically the whole of his life was spent amid scenes of political disturbance, civil strife, proscription and bloodshed in the long series of stirring events that passed in the interval between the civil war between Marius and Sulla (88-83 B. C.) and the murder of Cicero (43 B. C.).

(c) Training and Political Career: About Sallust's early life and education definite information is meager. He tells us himself (*Cat.* 4,6 f.) that his early inclination was toward literary studies, from which he was allured by a desire for political activity. This latter ambition may account for his coming to Rome, and since it was only during his last years that he devoted himself to literature, it is a reasonable assumption that he preferred a political calling. His sympathies were naturally with the popular party, and his most direct way to political preferment was to espouse the cause of a chosen leader of that party, who could secure him successive advancements. Hence Sallust with other independent spirits of his time gave to Caesar and the popular party enthusiastic support. He was elected to the quaestorship about 59 B. C., and was tribune of the plebs in 52 B. C., the year of the clash between the forces of Clodius and Milo. Prominent among the partisans of Clodius, and an active promoter of the prosecution of Milo for his murder, was Sallust. But in 50 B. C., when the senatorial party was strongly in power, the story goes that Appius Claud-

ius, the censor, expelled Sallust from the senate, alleging as motive the scandal caused by his dissolute life. He was reinstated in the senate by Caesar when reappointed to the quaestorship soon after 49 B. C. After being rewarded with military commands in Illyria and Campania, in both of which he met defeat, he was sent in the year 46 B. C. with a fleet detachment to seize the supplies of the Pompeian party laid up on the island of Cercina. This mission was a conspicuous success, and after the annexation of Numidia, Sallust was left in 46 B. C. as proconsul of the subject province of Africa. In this position we are told he amassed great wealth.

(d) Later Life: Sallust's political career ceased with his return from the governorship of Africa. He retired to a life of ease at Rome and lived in a fine villa on the Quirinal, which, with the magnificent gardens known by his name, later became the imperial residence and favorite resort of the emperors. To these latter years of leisure we are indebted for the works which give him an undisputed place among the Roman historians. He died 36 B. C., five years before the Civil War between Antony and Octavius was closed by the victory at Actium.

Sallust as an Historian.

Sallust's ideal of authentic facts, impartial presentation of cause and effect, and picturesque narrative embodied in vigorous language set a task worthy of a mature writer. And for his undertaking he was well qualified, being no stranger to the strife of social forces or to the intricacies of Roman politics. In the matter of investigation of sources he was painstaking beyond his age. And considering his political convictions and environment he attained a high degree of impartiality. While the distinct peculiarities of his style provoked opposition, he was nevertheless highly valued as a writer in his own day. His polish, terse method of narration, character sketches and descriptions all won for him the hearty praise of Roman writers and critics. In our own day, however, Sallust is often criticized for his elaborate and irrelevant introductions, for

errors in chronology and geography, for vagueness in place descriptions, affected brevity, digressions and general reflections, for his conscious display of rhetoric, as well as love of broad effects. While Sallust is not without faults in matters of chronology, military operations, etc., much of this criticism disregards the difference between the antique and modern conceptions of history. Today we apprehend history as a science; the ancients regarded it as an art, employing rhetoric both so constantly and so consciously as to make literary style the principal aim in their writings. This explains also Sallust's indifference to the omission of matters that the present day critic demands for an understanding of the subject as it progresses through its various historical details.

Sallust's rhetorical studies doubtless gave him a wide acquaintance with Greek models. His works show familiarity with the histories of Thucydides, some of the speeches of Demosthenes, and parts of Xenophon and Plato. Quintilian thought (cf. 10, 1,101) that Sallust not only imitated but rivalled Thucydides. We cannot go so far, for while there is unmistakable resemblance between the two authors in formal treatment, as in the philosophical introductions, and in the insertion of speeches, in brevity and conciseness of style, etc., there can be no doubt that in insight into cause and effect, in natural and stimulating reflection Sallust suffers by comparison with his Greek model. Nevertheless, the writings of Sallust impressed deeply not only his own age but later times. Grammarians and critics drew freely from his works for illustrations, and materials were chosen from his speeches and letters for use in the rhetorical schools. Among his admirers and imitators was Tacitus, who speaks of him (*Ann.* 3,30) in terms of high praise. Martial (*Epigr.* 14,191) pronounced him preeminently the historian of Rome. His influence is clearly traceable in the times of Fronto, Ammianus Marcellinus, and the Severi, while imitations extend well down into the Middle Ages.

Sallust's Diction and Style.

With respect to language used Sallust is at once an archaist and an innovator. In order to get away from the literary language of his day—the speech of Caesar and Cicero—he went back to older models, notably the elder Cato, from whom he revived many of the forceful words and striking phrases with which he gives vigor and picturesqueness to his narrative. On the other hand he introduced many words and phrases, which, while doubtless current in popular speech, had been excluded by previous writers of the classic age. No other author of the best period presents so many innovations in syntax as Sallust.

The following archaisms and older forms of spelling, some of which are to be considered also as colloquialisms, have been noted:

(1) Forms, as intellegit = intellexit (6,2); neglegisset = neglexisset (40,1); quaeso (85,10); forem, etc., for futurus essem, etc., as in 14,4; ludificare (36,2); nequitur (31,8); vitabundus (38,1); partiverant (43,1); senati (25,11); duum (106,5); quis = quibus (7,7, etc.); volgus, masc. (69,2); abstracts in -tudo, as claritudo (2,4); 3rd declen. nominatives in -os for -or, honos (3,1); odos (44,4); 2nd declen. nominatives in -os for -us, as avos (14,8), and acc. -om for -um, as parvom (10,1); gerund and gerundive ending -undus for endus, as largiundo (13,6); petunda (14,5); u for i in such words as lubido (3,4); maxuma (4,3); o for u, as in volgum (69,2); o for e, as in transvorsos (6,3); vostra (14,18); nave (77,2); dextumos (100,2); illim (114,2).

(2) Constructions, as tempéstas = tempus (3,1); supplicia = supplicationes (46,2); bene facta = beneficia (85,5); falsus, participle (10,1); substantives used as adjectives (12,5; 58,4; 64,1); consuefacit = assuefacit (80,2); futurum, uninflected (100,4); gratiam facit (104,5); patrare = perficere (13,5); conventam = quae convenit (112,2); supine with ire for simple verb (68,1); cum causal with indicative after verb of emotion (102,5); quam...tam with superlatives for quo...eo and comparatives (31,14).

The following are some of Sallust's colloquial usages:

(1) Words and combinations, as negotium = res (6,2); ceterum = "but" (2,4, etc.); verbum = "remark" (11,7); super = de (71,5); se = eum (61,1); equidem (10,6); pred. adverbs with esse (7,6, etc.); adjectives in -inus (18,1); dediticius (31,19); ludibrio habitus (34,2); ubi gentium (54,2); procul errant (85,38); pugnam facit (56,4); intensive and frequentative verbs (1,3, etc.); alliterative pairs (1,3, etc.); compounds for simple verb (14,21, etc.); perf. indic. 3rd pers. pl. -ēre for -erunt, as diffluxere (1,4).

(2) Constructions, as modo with comparatives (47,3); nisi introd. ellipses (24,5); plus used attributively (85,38); habere to express possession of qualities (31,22); indic. in indirect question (85,3); union of two constructions in one (85,2; 111,1); ita...fui = ita me gessi (85,7).

As innovations in Sallust are to be reckoned usages which occur in no prose author prior to his time.

(1) Words and phrases, as cupido (1,4); vecordia (5,2); facundia (30,4); hortamentum = hortatio (98,7); paratio = comparatio (31,8); imperitia (38,1); reguli (11,2); infecundus (17,5); importuosum (17,5); salubris, of the human body (17,6); saltuosa (38,1); habere = habitare (17,7); expedire = exponere (5,3); obtruncare (35,6); missitare (38,1); supervadere (75,2); coalescere, figuratively (87,3); catervatim (97,4); porro = "on the other hand" (25,7); -que. . .et (26,1); nihil pensi (41,9); bellum sumere (20,5); bellum ponere (112,1).

(2) Constructions, as part. genitive with adverbs of place (1,5, etc.); part. genitive dependent on a neuter pron. itself the object of a prep. (63,6); dative of possession with qualities (4,6); dative of person with volenti esse (84,3); in with neuter accusative of an adj. to express effect (73,5); adverbial acc. pl. with an adj. (19,7); ante of priority in degree (10,1, etc.); perf. part. deponent used transitively (103,7); hist. infin. in the passive (30,1).

As further evidence of Sallust's contribution to the Latin tongue, attention is directed in the notes to more than fifty

instances of usage with regard to form or syntax, which are rare either (1) in prose of any period (2) in prose prior to Sallust or (3) in the Latin language as a whole.

One of the most striking features of Sallust's style is his frequent change in constructions to secure variety, where other writers of the classic period seek symmetry of construction, as change from a noun to a clause (1,2); clause to noun (65,2); gerund to noun (7,2); noun to gerund (7,4); adverb to noun governed by prep. (4,7); adj. to gen. of quality (88,4) or abl. (52,1); adj. to noun modified by adj. (6,1); abl. to per with a noun (7,1); dative case to ablative of quality (97,3); abl. to gen. (74,3) or gen. to abl. (84,2) with the same verb; mutare in one sense (38,10) to another (44,5); anteferre with dative (16,1) to ablative (16,3); verbs in one sense to another in the same sentence (54,2; 89,4; 100,5); participle to clause (30,1) or the reverse (25,5). A striving for variety is seen also in the use of correlatives, as partim. . . alias (13,2) and pars. . .alii (13,8).

Critics have ever been impressed with Sallust's brevity and compactness of style. Gellius (3,1,6) calls him subtilissimum brevitatis artificem, while his compression and directness are characterized by Quintilian (10,1,102) as immortalem illam Sallusti velocitatem. Sallust's narrative is strong and effective by reason of his short, pointed sentences, examples of which occur in all parts of the *Jugurtha*. At times, however, his sentences seem abrupt and labored to one who has read the fuller, more rounded periods of Caesar and Cicero, while the frequent occurrence of igitur (2,2, etc.) and ceterum (4,1, etc.) at the beginning produces a distinct monotony. Conciseness is apparent: (1) In the large number of ellipses of forms of esse. Some of these are rare, as the auxiliary in a subordinate clause, 71,1 sed cum eae litterae allatae, or in the subjunctive, 88,6 an...pacem atque bellum mutare solitus. (2) In brachylogy or abbreviated expressions, as 63,4 quam gerebat for quam ea erat quam gerebat. (3) In the use of nam or nisi introducing ellipses, as 18,2 nam de Carthagine silere melius; 100,5 nisi tamen res publica. . .bene atque decore gesta. (4)

In the free use of asyndeton, the omission of the connective between coordinate parts, as 14,10 hostes ab latere, vos amici procul, spes omnis in armis erat; 51,1 arma, tela, equi, viri, hostes atque cives permixti, nihil imperio agi, fors omnia regere. (5) In the frequent use of zeugma, in which a word is employed in two connections, though strictly applicable in but one, as 14,4 quibus . . . cogor prius oneri quam usui esse.

Other devices by which Sallust gives conciseness and emphasis are:

(1) Chiasmus, the inversion of pairs, as 2,1 corporis alia, alia animi naturam secuntur. This order occurs in the *Jugurtha* more than three hundred times; notable examples are such as 6,1 three pairs, pollens viribus, decora facie, sed multo maxume ingenio validus; 12,5 chiasmus within clauses which are also chiastic, dormientis alios alios occursantis interficere, scrutari loca abdita, clausa effringere; 92,7 where the governing words of each pair are irregularly different parts of speech, armorum satis et magna vis frumenti.

(2) Anaphora, repetition at the beginning of successive phrases or clauses, as 10,3 per hanc dexteram, per regni fidem.

(3) Antithesis, or balancing of contrasted members, as equidem ego vobis regnum trado firmum, si boni eritis, sin mali, imbecillum; 85,14 contemnunt novitatem meam, ego illorum ignaviam; mihi fortuna, illis probra obiectantur.

(4) Juxtaposition of different forms of the same word or different words of the same origin, as 10,2 ex amicis amicissumos; 69,4 victos victoresque.

(5) Insertion of sententious phrases or proverbs, as 2,3 omniaque orta occidunt et aucta senescunt; 31,28 bonus tantum modo segnior fit, ubi neglegas, at malus improbior.

(6) Litotes, a method of making a statement emphatic by denying its contrary. By this figure more is meant than meets the ear, as 31,29 haud saepe = rarissime; 79,1 non indignum = dignissimum.

Sallust is fond of vivid and picturesque description, particularly in portraying psychic states, as anger (34,1); joy (55,2); unrest (72,2); alarm (91,5); enthusiasm (92,2).

Other marked illustrations of picturesque effect are the terror of a night attack (38,4 f.); siege of Zama (57,3 f.; 60,3 f.); attack on Jugurtha's treasure-fortress (94); the battle picture with Jugurtha wielding a blood-covered sword (101).

Among the expedients used by Sallust to secure vividness the most important are:

(1) The insertion of letters and speeches in direct discourse, as Scipio's letter to Micipsa (9); Micipsa's speech to his sons (10); speeches in the Roman Senate by Adherbal (14); Memmius (31); Marius (85).

(2) The very free use of the historical infinitive, often a notably large number being found in a single description period, as 6,1 seven; 55,8 ten; 66,1 eleven; 94,4 f. thirteen. So fond is Sallust of this construction that he extends it beyond the usage of other classic authors, as, for example, with esse (6,1); the passive (30,1); cum inversum (98,2; cf. note 12,5); in a comparative clause (100,4).

The Jugurtha.

(a) Introduction: The introduction to the *Jugurtha* (chapters 1-4) is made up largely of philosophical commonplaces. In it Sallust views life in its relation to conduct and callings, with a few words about the useful work of the historian, passing thence abruptly to his theme proper. The insertion of such a preface is no doubt due to his imitation of Greek writers. At the same time it agrees with Sallust's ideal of history, in which reflection and description find a prominent place. Moreover, the moral earnestness of the introduction strikes a note which sounds here and there throughout the entire monograph.

(b) Speeches and Letters: Sallust follows a well-known Greek practice in incorporating speeches and letters in his narrative. While these are rhetorical exercises containing strong arguments and emotional appeals, they serve to give variety and to characterize both actors and situations. They are, of course, not the speeches really made on the occasion and by the person so represented, but give what such a person would

most fittingly have said. That they are not meant to be regarded as original is evident from the introductory formulae such as sententia haec erat (fuit) (9,2; 24,1); huiusce modi (32,1); hoc modo (84,5).

(c) Value: We are indebted to Sallust for our principal account of the struggle with Jugurtha, which lasted 111 to 105 B. C. The cause of the war was Jugurtha's attempt to make himself King of Numidia, a country allied with Rome from the time of the Second Punic War. But the knowledge we gain from Sallust's narrative is far less important than the insight we get into political conditions at Rome revealing the hopeless incapacity of the senate, the corruption of the aristocratic party, and the blundering and bribery in the army. The *Jugurtha* brings us face to face with events, and shows us influences at work, which sowed the seeds of hatred and violence at Rome, hastened the days of proscription and bloodshed, and stamped the characters of Marius and Sulla upon the story of their times.

(d) Manuscripts and Editions: The *Jugurtha* is preserved in numerous manuscripts, none older probably than the tenth century. There are two important classes (1) the Parisini, the best representative of which is the first hand of P. 16024, found in the National Library of Paris. This older class has a lacuna from 103,2 to 112,3. (2) the Monacenses or Munich MSS., the best being M. 14777, of the eleventh century. This class—more or less interpolated—contains the complete text. The speeches and letters are preserved also in Vaticanus 3864, a text of the tenth century showing many arbitrary alterations.

A large number of editions of Sallust has appeared, containing his complete works, the *Jugurtha* together with the *Catiline,* or the *Jugurtha* alone, while the body of critical literature and commentary is enormous. Notable editions of Sallust are those by Kritz (1828; 1856); Gerlach (1832; 1852); and Dietsch (1859; 1864).

Books of Reference

The following are a few of the readily accessible books which will be found helpful to the student of Sallust:

(1) For the life, writings, and personality of Sallust:

TEUFFEL, *History of Roman Literature* (Trans. by Warr), London, 1891; vol. I, pp. 361-371.

SIMCOX, *History of Latin Literature,* N Y., 1883; vol. I, pp. 224-243.

CRUTTWELL, *History of Roman Literature,* N. Y., 1887; pp. 200-205.

MACKAIL, *Latin Literature,* N. Y., 1895; pp. 82-84.

LAWTON, *Classical Latin Literature,* N. Y., 1904; pp. 104-106.

(2) For the *Jugurthine War:*

GREENIDGE, *A History of Rome,* London, 1904; vol. I, pp. 315-486.

IHNE, *History of Rome,* English edition, London, 1882; vol. V, pp. 12-79.

MOMMSEN, *History of Rome* (Trans. by Dickson), N. Y., 1869; vol. III, pp. 177-197.

DURUY, *History of Rome,* Boston, 1883; vol. II, p. 493 f.

HEITLAND, *The Roman Republic,* Cambridge, 1909; vol. II, pp. 338-362.

HOW and LEIGH, *A History of Rome to the Death of Caesar,* N. Y., 1896; pp. 360-371.

SHUCKBURGH, *A History of Rome to the Battle of Actium,* N. Y., 1898; pp. 570-578.

BOTSFORD, *A History of Rome,* N. Y., 1902; pp. 160-162.

MERIVALE, *General History of Rome,* N. Y., 1876; pp. 232-236.

GAI SALLUSTI CRISPI
LIBEP
DE BELLO IUGURTHINO

Falso queritur de natura sua genus humanum, quod imbe- **1**
cilla atque aevi brevis forte potius quam virtute regatur. Nam 2
contra reputando neque maius aliud neque praestabilius invenias magisque naturae industriam hominum quam vim aut tempus deesse. Sed dux atque imperator vitae mortalium animus est. Qui ubi ad gloriam virtutis via grassatur, abunde 3
pollens potensque et clarus est neque fortuna eget, quippe probitatem industriam aliasque artis bonas neque dare neque eripere cuiquam potest. Sin captus pravis cupidinibus ad in- 4
ertiam et voluptates corporis pessum datus est, perniciosa lubidine paulisper usus, ubi per socordiam vires, tempus, ingenium diffluxere, naturae infirmitas accusatur: suam quisque culpam auctores ad negotia transferunt. Quod si hominibus bonarum 5
rerum tanta cura esset, quanto studio aliena ac nihil profutura multaque etiam periculosa petunt, neque regerentur magis quam regerent casus et eo magnitudinis procederent, ubi pro mortalibus gloria aeterni fierent. Nam uti genus hominum **2**
compositum ex corpore et anima est, ita res cunctae studiaque omnia nostra corporis alia, alia animi naturam secuntur. Igitur praeclara facies, magnae divitiae, ad hoc vis corporis et alia 2
omnia huiusce modi brevi dilabuntur, at ingeni egregia facinora sicuti anima immortalia sunt. Postremo corporis et fortunae 3
bonorum ut initium sic finis est, omniaque orta occidunt et aucta senescunt: animus, incorruptus, aeternus, rector humani

4 generis agit atque habet cuncta neque ipse habetur. Quo magis pravitas eorum admiranda est, qui dediti corporis gaudiis per luxum et ignaviam aetatem agunt, ceterum ingenium, quo neque melius neque amplius aliud in natura mortalium est, incultu atque socordia torpescere sinunt, cum praesertim tam multae variaeque sint artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

3 Verum ex eis magistratus et imperia, postremo omnis cura rerum publicarum minume mihi hac tempestate cupiunda videntur, quoniam neque virtuti honos datur, neque illi, quibus per
2 fraudem fuit, tuti aut eo magis honesti sunt. Nam vi quidem regere patriam aut parentes, quamquam et possis et delicta corrigas, tamen importunum est, cum praesertim omnes rerum mu-
3 tationes caedem, fugam, aliaque hostilia portendant: frustra autem niti neque aliud se fatigando nisi odium quaerere ex-
4 tremae dementiae est, nisi forte quem inhonesta et perniciosa lubido tenet potentiae paucorum decus atque libertatem suam gratificari.

4 Ceterum ex aliis negotiis, quae ingenio exercentur, in primis
2 magno usui est memoria rerum gestarum. Cuius de virtute quia multi dixere, praetereundum puto, simul ne per insolentiam quis existumet memet studium meum laudando extollere.
3 Atque ego credo fore qui, quia decrevi procul a re publica aetatem agere, tanto tamque utili labori meo nomen inertiae imponant, certe quibus maxuma industria videtur salutare ple-
4 bem et conviviis gratiam quaerere. Qui si reputaverint, et quibus ego temporibus magistratus adeptus sim et quales viri idem assequi nequiverint et postea quae genera hominum in senatum pervenerint, profecto existumabunt me magis merito quam ignavia iudicium animi mei mutavisse maiusque commodum ex otio meo quam ex aliorum negotiis rei publicae ven-
5 turum. Nam saepe ego audivi Q. Maxumum, P. Scipionem, praeterea civitatis nostrae praeclaros viros solitos ita dicere: cum maiorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissume sibi ani-
6 mum ad virtutem accendi. Scilicet non ceram illam neque figuram tantam vim in sese habere, sed memoria rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere neque

prius sedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adaequaverit. At contra quis est omnium eis moribus, quin divitiis 7
et sumptibus, non probitate neque industria cum maioribus suis contendat? etiam homines novi, qui antea per virtutem soliti erant nobilitatem antevenire, furtim et per latrocinia potius quam bonis artibus ad imperia et honores nituntur: proinde 8
quasi praetura et consulatus atque alia omnia huiusce modi per se ipsa clara et magnifica sint, ac non perinde habeantur, ut eorum, qui ea sustinent, virtus est. Verum ego liberius alti- 9
usque processi, dum me civitatis morum piget taedetque: nunc ad inceptum redeo.

Bellum scripturus sum quod populus Romanus cum Iugur- **5**
tha rege Numidarum gessit, primum quia magnum et atrox variaque victoria fuit, dehinc quia tunc primum superbiae nobilitatis obviam itum est, quae contentio divina et humana 2
cuncta permiscuit eoque vecordiae processit, ut studiis civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiae finem faceret. Sed prius quam 3
huiusce modi rei initium expedio, pauca supra repetam, quo ad cognoscundum omnia illustria magis magisque in aperto sint.

Bello Punico secundo, quo dux Carthaginiensium Hannibal 4
post magnitudinem nominis Romani Italiae opes maxume attriverat, Masinissa, rex Numidarum, in amicitiam receptus a P. Scipione, cui postea Africano cognomen ex virtute fuit, multa et praeclara rei militaris facinora fecerat. Ob quae victis Carthaginiensibus et capto Syphace, cuius in Africa magnum atque late imperium valuit, populus Romanus, quascumque urbis et agros manu ceperat, regi dono dedit. Igitur amicitia 5
Masinissae bona atque honesta nobis permansit: sed imperi vitaeque eius finis idem fuit.

Dein Micipsa filius regnum solus obtinuit Mastanabale et 6
Gulussa fratribus morbo absumptis. Is Adherbalem et Hiemp- 7
salem ex sese genuit Iugurthamque, filium Mastanabalis fratris, quem Masinissa, quod ortus ex concubina erat, privatum dereliquerat, eodem cultu quo liberos suos domi habuit.

Qui ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decora facie, sed **6**
multo maxume ingenio validus, non se luxui neque inertiae corrumpendum dedit, sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare,

iaculari, cursu cum aequalibus certare, et cum omnis gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse: ad hoc pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras primus aut in primis
2 ferire, plurumum facere, minimum ipse de se loqui. Quibus rebus Micipsa tametsi initio laetus fuerat existumans virtutem Iugurthae regno suo gloriae fore, tamen, postquam hominem adulescentem exacta sua aetate et parvis liberis magis magisque crescere intellegit, vehementer eo negotio permotus multa cum
3 animo suo volvebat. Terrebat eum natura mortalium avida imperi et praeceps ad explendam animi cupidinem, praeterea opportunitas suae liberorumque aetatis, quae etiam mediocris viros spe praedae transvorsos agit, ad hoc studia Numidarum in Iugurtham accensa, ex quibus, si talem virum dolis inter-
7 fecisset, ne qua seditio aut bellum oriretur, anxius erat. His difficultatibus circumventus ubi videt neque per vim neque insidiis opprimi posse hominem tam acceptum popularibus, quod erat Iugurtha manu promptus et appetens gloriae militaris, statuit eum obiectare periculis et eo modo fortunam temptare.
2 Igitur bello Numantino Micipsa, cum populo Romano equitum atque peditum auxilia mitteret, sperans vel ostentando virtutem vel hostium saevitia facile eum occasurum, praefecit
3 Numidis, quos in Hispaniam mittebat. Sed ea res longe aliter,
4 ac ratus erat, evenit. Nam Iugurtha, ut erat impigro atque acri ingenio, ubi naturam P. Scipionis, qui tum Romanis imperator erat, et morem hostium cognovit, multo labore multaque cura, praeterea modestissume parendo et saepe obviam eundo periculis in tantam claritudinem brevi pervenerat, ut nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis maxumo terrori esset.
5 Ac sane, quod difficillumum in primis est, et proelio strenuus erat et bonus consilio, quorum alterum ex providentia timorem,
6 alterum ex audacia temeritatem afferre plerumque solet. Igitur imperator omnis fere res asperas per Iugurtham agere, in amicis habere, magis magisque eum in dies amplecti, quippe cuius
7 neque consilium neque inceptum ullum frustra erat. Huc accedebat munificentia animi et ingeni sollertia, quis rebus sibi
8 multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia coniunxerat. Ea tempestate in exercitu nostro fuere complures novi atque nobiles,

quibus divitiae bono honestoque potiores erant, factiosi domi, potentes apud socios, clari magis quam honesti, qui Iugurthae non mediocrem animum pollicitando accendebant, si Micipsa rex occidisset, fore uti solus imperi Numidiae potiretur: in ipso maximam virtutem, Romae omnia venalia esse. Sed postquam 2
Numantia deleta P. Scipio dimittere auxilia et ipse revorti domum decrevit, donatum atque laudatum magnifice pro contione Iugurtham in praetorium abduxit ibique secreto monuit, ut potius publice quam privatim amicitiam populi Romani coleret, neu quibus largiri insuesceret: periculose a paucis emi, quod multorum esset; si permanere vellet in suis artibus, ultro illi et gloriam et regnum venturum, sin properantius pergeret, suamet ipsum pecunia praecipitem casurum. Sic locutus cum **9**
litteris eum, quas Micipsae redderet, dimisit. Earum sententia haec erat:

"Iugurthae tui bello Numantino longe maxuma virtus fuit, 2
quam rem tibi certo scio gaudio esse. Nobis ob merita sua carus est: ut idem senatui et populo Romano sit, summa ope nitemur. Tibi quidem pro nostra amicitia gratulor. En habes virum dignum te atque avo suo Masinissa."

Igitur rex, ubi ea, quae fama acceperat, ex litteris imperatoris ita esse cognovit, cum virtute tum gratia viri permotus flexit animum suum et Iugurtham beneficiis vincere aggressus est statimque eum adoptavit et testamento pariter cum filiis heredem instituit. 3

Sed ipse paucos post annos morbo atque aetate confectus 4
cum sibi finem vitae adesse intellegeret, coram amicis et cognatis itemque Adherbale et Hiempsale filiis dicitur huiusce modi verba cum Iugurtha habuisse:

"Parvom ego, Iugurtha, te amisso patre, sine spe, sine opi- **10**
bus, in regnum meum accepi, existumans non minus me tibi quam liberis, si genuissem, ob beneficia carum fore. Neque ea
res falsum me habuit. Nam, ut alia magna et egregia tua 2
omittam, novissume rediens Numantia meque regnumque meum gloria honoravisti tuaque virtute nobis Romanos ex amicis amicissumos fecisti; in Hispania nomen familiae renovatum est; postremo, quod difficillumum inter mortalis est, gloria in-

3 vidiam vicisti. Nunc, quoniam mihi natura finem vitae facit,
per hanc dexteram, per regni fidem moneo obtestorque te, uti
hos, qui tibi genere propinqui, beneficio meo fratres sunt, caros
habeas, neu malis alienos adiungere quam sanguine coniunctos
4 retinere. Non exercitus neque thesauri praesidia regni sunt,
verum amici, quos neque armis cogere neque auro parare queas:
5 officio et fide pariuntur. Quis autem amicior, quam frater
fratri? aut quem alienum fidum invenies, si tuis hostis fueris?
6 Equidem ego vobis regnum trado firmum, si boni eritis, sin
mali, imbecillum. Nam concordia parvae res crescunt, dis-
7 cordia maxumae dilabuntur. Ceterum ante hos te, Iugurtha,
qui aetate et sapientia prior es, ne aliter quid eveniat, providere
decet. Nam in omni certamine qui opulentior est, etiamsi
8 accipit iniuriam, tamen, quia plus potest, facere videtur. Vos
autem, Adherbal et Hiempsal, colite, observate talem hunc
virum, imitamini virtutem et enitimini, ne ego meliores liberos
sumpsisse videar quam genuisse."

11 Ad ea Iugurtha, tametsi regem ficta locutum intellegebat
et ipse longe aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro tempore benigne
respondit. Micipsa paucis post diebus moritur.

2 Postquam illi more regio iusta magnifice fecerant, reguli in
unum convenerunt, ut inter se de cunctis negotiis disceptarent.
3 Sed Hiempsal, qui minumus ex illis erat, natura ferox et iam
antea ignobilitatem Iugurthae, qui materno genere impar erat,
despiciens, dextra Adherbalem assedit, ne medius ex tribus,
4 quod apud Numidas honori ducitur, Iugurtha foret. Dein
tamen, ut aetati concederet, fatigatus a fratre, vix in partem
5 alteram transductus est. Ibi cum multa de administrando im-
perio dissererent, Iugurtha inter alias res iacit oportere quin-
quenni consulta et decreta omnia rescindi: nam per ea tempora
6 confectum annis Micipsam parum animo valuisse. Tum idem
Hiempsal placere sibi respondit: nam ipsum illum tribus prox-
7 umis annis adoptatione in regnum pervenisse. Quod verbum
in pectus Iugurthae altius, quam quisquam ratus erat, de-
8 scendit. Itaque ex eo tempore ira et metu anxius moliri, parare
atque ea modo cum animo habere, quibus Hiempsal per dolum

caperetur. Quae ubi tardius procedunt neque lenitur animus ferox, statuit quovis modo inceptum perficere. 9

Primo conventu, quem ab regulis factum supra memoravi, propter dissensionem placuerat dividi thesauros finisque imperi singulis constitui. Itaque tempus ad utramque rem decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam distribuendam. Reguli interea in loca propinqua thesauris alius alio concessere. Sed Hiempsal in oppido Thirmida forte eius domo utebatur, qui proxumus lictor Iugurthae carus acceptusque ei semper fuerat. Quem ille casu ministrum oblatum promissis onerat impellitque, uti tamquam sua visens domum eat, portarum clavis adulterinas paret—nam verae ad Hiempsalem referebantur—ceterum, ubi res postularet, se ipsum cum magna manu venturum. Numida mandata brevi conficit atque, uti doctus erat, noctu Iugurthae milites introducit. Qui postquam in aedis irrupere, divorsi regem quaerere, dormientis alios alios occursantis interficere, scrutari loca abdita, clausa effringere, strepitu et tumultu omnia miscere, cum interim Hiempsal reperitur occultans se tugurio mulieris ancillae, quo initio pavidus et ignarus loci perfugerat. Numidae caput eius, uti iussi erant, ad Iugurtham referunt. **12** 2 3 4 5

Ceterum fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam brevi divolgatur. Adherbalem omnisque, qui sub imperio Micipsae fuerant, metus invadit; in duas partis discedunt Numidae; plures Adherbalem secuntur, sed illum alterum bello meliores. Igitur Iugurtha quam maxumas potest copias armat, urbis partim vi alias voluntate imperio suo adiungit, omni Numidiae imperare parat. Adherbal, tametsi Romam legatos miserat, qui senatum docerent de caede fratris et fortunis suis, tamen fretus multitudine militum parabat armis contendere. Sed ubi res ad certamen venit, victus ex proelio profugit in provinciam ac deinde Romam contendit. Tum Iugurtha patratis consiliis, postquam omni Numidia potiebatur, in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans, timere populum Romanum neque advorsus iram eius usquam nisi in avaritia nobilitatis et pecunia sua spem habere. Itaque paucis diebus cum auro et argento multo Romam legatos mittit, quis praecipit, primum uti veteres amicos muneribus expleant, deinde novos adquirant, postremo, quae- **13** 2 3 4 5 6

7 cumque possint, largiundo parare ne cunctentur. Sed ubi Romam legati venere et ex praecepto regis hospitibus aliisque, quorum ea tempestate in senatu auctoritas pollebat, magna munera misere, tanta commutatio incessit, ut ex maxuma invidia in gratiam et favorem nobilitatis Iugurtha veniret.
8 Quorum pars spe alii praemio inducti singulos ex senatu am-
9 biundo nitebantur, ne gravius in eum consuleretur. Igitur ubi legati satis confidunt, die constituto senatus utrisque datur. Tum Adherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus:

14 "Patres conscripti, Micipsa pater meus moriens mihi praecepit, ut regni Numidiae tantum modo procurationem existumarem meam, ceterum ius et imperium eius penes vos esse, simul eniterer domi militiaeque quam maxumo usui esse populo Romano, vos mihi cognatorum, vos affinium loco ducerem: si ea fecissem, in vostra amicitia exercitum, divitias, munimenta
2 regni me habiturum. Quae cum praecepta parentis mei agitarem, Iugurtha, homo omnium, quos terra sustinet, sceleratissumus, contempto imperio vostro Masinissae me nepotem et iam ab stirpe socium atque amicum populi Romani regno fortunisque omnibus expulit.

3 Atque ego, patres conscripti, quoniam eo miseriarum venturus eram, vellem potius ob mea quam ob maiorum meorum beneficia posse me a vobis auxilium petere, ac maxume deberi mihi beneficia a populo Romano quibus non egerem; secundum
4 ea, si desideranda erant, uti debitis uterer. Sed quoniam parum tuta per se ipsa probitas est, neque mihi in manu fuit Iugurtha qualis foret, ad vos confugi, patres conscripti, quibus, quod mihi miserrumum est, cogor prius oneri quam usui esse.

5 Ceteri reges aut bello victi in amicitiam a vobis recepti sunt aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem vostram appetiverunt: familia nostra cum populo Romano bello Carthaginiensi amicitiam instituit, quo tempore magis fides eius quam fortuna pe-
6 tunda erat. Quorum progeniem vos, patres conscripti, nolite pati me, nepotem Masinissae, frustra a vobis auxilium petere.
7 Si ad impetrandum nihil causae haberem praeter miserandam fortunam, quod paulo ante rex genere, fama atque copiis potens, nunc deformatus aerumnis, inops alienas opes exspecto,

tamen erat maiestatis populi Romani prohibere iniuriam neque
pati cuiusquam regnum per scelus crescere. Verum ego eis 8
finibus eiectus sum, quos maioribus meis populus Romanus
dedit, unde pater et avos meus una vobiscum expulere Syphacem et Carthaginiensis. Vostra beneficia mihi erepta sunt,
patres conscripti, vos in mea iniuria despecti estis. Eheu me 9
miserum! Hucine, Micipsa pater, beneficia tua evasere, ut,
quem tu parem cum liberis tuis regnique participem fecisti, is
potissumum stirpis tuae exstinctor sit? Numquamne ergo familia nostra quieta erit? semperne in sanguine, ferro, fuga vorsabitur? Dum Carthaginienses incolumes fuere, iure omnia 10
saeva patiebamur: hostes ab latere, vos amici procul, spes omnis
in armis erat. Postquam illa pestis ex Africa eiecta est, laeti
pacem agitabamus, quippe quis hostis nullus erat, nisi forte
quem vos iussissetis. Ecce autem ex improviso Iugurtha, into- 11
leranda audacia, scelere atque superbia sese ecferens, fratre
meo atque eodem propinquo suo interfecto primum regnum
eius sceleris sui praedam fecit, post, ubi me eisdem dolis nequit
capere, nihil minus quam vim aut bellum exspectantem in imperio vostro, sicut videtis, extorrem patria, domo, inopem et
coopertum miseriis effecit, ut ubivis tutius quam in meo regno
essem. Ego sic existumabam, patres conscripti, uti praedican- 12
tem audiveram patrem meum: qui vostram amicitiam diligenter colerent, eos multum laborem suscipere, ceterum ex omnibus
maxume tutos esse. Quod in familia nostra fuit, praestitit, uti 13
in omnibus bellis adesset vobis: nos uti per otium tuti simus, in
vostra manu est, patres conscripti. Pater nos duos fratres re- 14
liquit, tertium Iugurtham beneficiis suis ratus est coniunctum
nobis fore. Alter eorum necatus est, alterius ipse ego manus
impias vix effugi. Quid agam? aut quo potissumum infelix 15
accedam? Generis praesidia omnia exstincta sunt: pater, uti
necesse erat, naturae concessit; fratri, quem minume decuit,
propinquos per scelus vitam eripuit; affinis, amicos, propinquos
ceteros meos alium alia clades oppressit; capti ab Iugurtha pars
in crucem acti, pars bestiis obiecti sunt, pauci, quibus relicta
est anima, clausi in tenebris cum maerore et luctu morte graviorem vitam exigunt.

16 Si omnia, quae aut amisi aut ex necessariis advorsa facta sunt, incolumia manerent, tamen, si quid ex improviso mali accidisset, vos implorarem, patres conscripti, quibus pro magni-
17 tudine imperi ius et iniurias omnis curae esse decet. Nunc vero exsul patria, domo, solus atque omnium honestarum rerum egens, quo accedam aut quos appellem? nationesne an reges, qui omnes familiae nostrae ob vostram amicitiam infesti sunt? An quoquam mihi adire licet, ubi non maiorum meorum hostilia monumenta pluruma sint, aut quisquam nostri misereri potest,
18 qui aliquando vobis hostis fuit? Postremo Masinissa nos ita instituit, patres conscripti, ne quem coleremus nisi populum Romanum, ne societates neu foedera nova acciperemus: abunde magna praesidia nobis in vostra amicitia fore; si huic imperio
19 fortuna mutaretur, una occidundum nobis esse. Virtute ac dis volentibus magni estis et opulenti; omnia secunda et oboedientia
20 sunt: quo facilius sociorum iniurias curare licet. Tantum illud vereor, ne quos privata amicitia Iugurthae parum cognita transvorsos agat, quos ego audio maxuma ope niti, ambire, fatigare vos singulos, ne quid de absente incognita causa statuatis: fingere me verba et fugam simulare, cui licuerit in regno
21 manere. Quod utinam illum, cuius impio facinore in has miserias proiectus sum, eadem haec simulantem videam, et aliquando aut apud vos aut apud deos immortales rerum humanarum cura oriatur: ne ille, qui nunc sceleribus suis ferox atque praeclarus est, omnibus malis excruciatus impietatis in parentem nostrum, fratris mei necis mearumque miseriarum
22 gravis poenas reddat. Iam, iam, frater animo meo carissume, quamquam tibi immaturo et unde minume decuit vita erepta est, tamen laetandum magis quam dolendum puto casum tuum:
23 non enim regnum, sed fugam, exsilium, egestatem et omnis has, quae me premunt, aerumnas cum anima simul amisisti. At ego infelix, in tanta mala praecipitatus ex patrio regno, rerum humanarum spectaculum praebeo, incertus quid agam, tuasne iniurias persequar ipse auxili egens, an regno consulam, cuius
24 vitae necisque potestas ex opibus alienis pendet. Utinam emori fortunis meis honestus exitus esset, neu iure contemptus viderer,

si defessus malis iniuriae concessissem. Nunc neque vivere lubet neque mori licet sine dedecore.

Patres conscripti, per vos, per liberos atque parentis vos- 25
tros, per maiestatem populi Romani, subvenite mihi misero, ite obviam iniuriae, nolite pati regnum Numidiae, quod vostrum est, per scelus et sanguinem familiae nostrae tabescere."

Postquam rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Iugurthae largi- **15**
tione magis quam causa freti paucis respondent: Hiempsalem ob saevitiam suam ab Numidis interfectum; Adherbalem ultro bellum inferentem, postquam superatus sit, queri quod iniuriam facere nequivisset; Iugurtham ab senatu petere, ne se alium putarent, ac Numantiae cognitus esset, neu verba inimici ante
facta sua ponerent. Deinde utrique curia egrediuntur. Sen- 2
atus statim consulitur. Fautores legatorum, praeterea senatus magna pars gratia depravata Adherbalis dicta contemnere, Iugurthae virtutem extollere laudibus: gratia, voce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno scelere et flagitio, sua quasi pro gloria, nitebantur. At contra pauci, quibus bonum et aequom 3
divitiis carius erat, subveniundum Adherbali et Hiempsalis mortem severe vindicandam censebant, sed ex omnibus maxume 4
M. Aemilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, impiger, factiosus, avidus potentiae, honoris, divitiarum, ceterum vitia sua callide occultans. Is postquam videt regis largitionem famosam impudent- 5
emque, veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne polluta licentia invidiam accenderet, animum a consueta lubidine continuit. Vicit tamen **16**
in senatu pars illa quae vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebat. Decretum fit uti decem legati regnum quod Micipsa obtinu- 2
erat inter Iugurtham et Adherbalem dividerent. Cuius legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo clarus et tum in senatu potens, quia consul C. Graccho et M. Fulvio Flacco interfectis acerrume victoriam nobilitatis in plebem exercuerat. Eum Iu- 3
gurtha tametsi Romae in inimicis habuerat, tamen accuratissume recepit: dando et pollicendo multa perfecit, uti fama, fide, postremo omnibus suis rebus commodum regis anteferret. Re- 4
liquos legatos eadem via aggressus plerosque capit: paucis carior fides quam pecunia fuit. In divisione, quae pars Numi- 5
diae Mauretaniam attingit, agro virisque opulentior, Iugurthae

traditur, illam alteram specie quam usu potiorem, quae portuosior et aedificiis magis exornata erat, Adherbal possedit.

17 Res postulare videtur Africae situm paucis exponere et eas gentis, quibuscum nobis bellum aut amicitia fuit, attingere. 2 Sed quae loca et nationes ob calorem aut asperitatem, item solitudines minus frequentata sunt, de eis haud facile compertum narraverim; cetera quam paucissumis absolvam.

3 In divisione orbis terrae plerique in parte tertia Africam posuere, pauci tantum modo Asiam et Europam esse, sed Afri- 4 cam in Europa. Ea finis habet ab occidente fretum nostri maris et Oceani, ab ortu solis declivem latitudinem, quem 5 locum Catabathmon incolae appellant. Mare saevom, importuosum; ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbore infecundus; 6 caelo terraque penuria aquarum. Genus hominum salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum; plerosque senectus dissolvit, nisi qui ferro aut bestiis interiere: nam morbus haud saepe quem- 7 quam superat. Ad hoc malefici generis pluruma animalia. Sed qui mortales initio Africam habuerint, quique postea accesserint, aut quo modo inter se permixti sint, quamquam ab ea fama, quae plerosque obtinet, divorsum est, tamen, uti ex libris Punicis, qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est utique rem sese habere cultores eius terrae putant, quam paucissumis dicam. Ceterum fides eius rei penes auctores erit.

18 Africam initio habuere Gaetuli et Libyes, asperi incultique, quis cibus erat caro ferina atque humi pabulum uti pecoribus. 2 Ei neque moribus neque lege aut imperio cuiusquam regeban- 3 tur: vagi, palantes, quas nox coegerat, sedes habebant. Sed postquam in Hispania Hercules, sicuti Afri putant, interiit, exercitus eius, compositus ex variis gentibus, amisso duce ac passim multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus brevi dilabitur. 4 Ex eo numero Medi, Persae et Armenii navibus in Africam transvecti proxumos nostro mari locos occupavere, sed Persae 5 intra Oceanum magis, eique alveos navium invorsos pro tuguriis habuere, quia neque materia in agris neque ab Hispanis emundi 6 aut mutandi copia erat: mare magnum et ignara lingua com- 7 mercio prohibebant. Ei paulatim per conubia Gaetulos secum miscuere, et quia saepe temptantes agros alia, deinde alia loca

petiverant, semet ipsi Nomadas appellavere. Ceterum adhuc 8
aedificia Numidarum agrestium, quae mapalia illi vocant, oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinae sunt. Medis autem et Armeniis accessere Libyes—nam ei propius 9
mare Africum agitabant, Gaetuli sub sole magis, haud procul ab ardoribus—eique mature oppida habuere: nam freto divisi ab Hispania mutare res inter se instituerant. Nomen eorum 10
paulatim Libyes corrupere, barbara lingua Mauros pro Medis appellantes. Sed res Persarum brevi adolevit, ac postea no- 11
mine Numidae, propter multitudinem a parentibus digressi, possedere ea loca, quae proxuma Carthagine Numidia appellatur. Deinde utrique alteris freti finitumos armis aut metu sub im- 12
perium suum coegere, nomen gloriamque sibi addidere, magis ei qui ad nostrum mare processerant, quia Libyes quam Gaetuli minus bellicosi. Denique Africae pars inferior pleraque ab 13
Numidis possessa est, victi omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium concessere.

Postea Phoenices, alii multitudinis domi minuendae gratia, **19**
pars imperi cupidine sollicitata plebe et aliis novarum rerum avidis, Hipponem, Hadrumetum, Leptim aliasque urbis in ora marituma condidere, eaeque brevi multum auctae pars originibus suis praesidio, aliae decori fuere. Nam de Carthagine 2
silere melius puto quam parum dicere, quoniam alio properare tempus monet.

Igitur ad Catabathmon, qui locus Aegyptum ab Africa divi- 3
dit, secundo mari prima Cyrene est, colonia Theraeon, ac deinceps duae Syrtes, interque eas Leptis, deinde Philaenon arae, quem locum Aegyptum vorsus finem imperi habuere Carthaginienses, post aliae Punicae urbes. Cetera loca usque ad Maure- 4
taniam Numidae tenent, proxumi Hispania Mauri sunt. Super 5
Numidiam Gaetulos accepimus partim in tuguriis alios incultius vagos agitare, post eos Aethiopas esse, dehinc loca exusta solis 6
ardoribus. Igitur bello Iugurthino pleraque ex Punicis oppida 7
et finis Carthaginiensium, quos novissume habuerant, populus Romanus per magistratus administrabat. Gaetulorum magna pars et Numidae usque ad flumen Muluccham sub Iugurtha erant, Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat, praeter nomen

cetera ignarus populi Romani itemque nobis neque bello neque
8 pace antea cognitus. De Africa et eius incolis ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum.

20 Postquam diviso regno legati Africa decessere et Iugurtha contra timorem animi praemia sceleris adeptum sese videt, certum esse ratus, quod ex amicis apud Numantiam acceperat, omnia Romae venalia esse, simul et illorum pollicitationibus accensus, quos paulo ante muneribus expleverat, in regnum
2 Adherbalis animum intendit. Ipse acer, bellicosus, at is quem petebat quietus, imbellis, placido ingenio, opportunus iniuriae,
3 metuens magis quam metuendus. Igitur ex improviso finis eius cum magna manu invadit, multos mortalis cum pecore atque
4 alia praeda capit, aedificia incendit, pleraque loca hostiliter cum equitatu accedit, deinde cum omni multitudine in regnum suum convortit, existumans Adherbalem dolore permotum iniurias suas manu vindicaturum eamque rem belli causam fore. At
5 ille, quod neque se parem armis existumabat et amicitia populi Romani magis quam Numidis fretus erat, legatos ad Iugurtham de iniuriis questum misit. Qui tametsi contumeliosa dicta rettulerant, prius tamen omnia pati decrevit quam bellum sumere,
6 quia temptatum antea secus cesserat. Neque eo magis cupido Iugurthae minuebatur, quippe qui totum eius regnum animo
7 iam invaserat. Itaque non, uti antea, cum praedatoria manu, sed magno exercitu comparato bellum gerere coepit et aperte
8 totius Numidiae imperium petere. Ceterum, qua pergebat, urbis, agros vastare, praedas agere, suis animum, hostibus ter-
21 rorem augere. Adherbal ubi intellegit eo processum, uti regnum aut relinquendum esset aut armis retinendum, necessario
2 copias parat et Iugurthae obvius procedit. Interim haud longe a mari prope Cirtam oppidum utriusque exercitus consedit et, quia diei extremum erat, proelium non inceptum. Sed ubi plerumque noctis processit, obscuro etiam tum lumine milites Iugurthini signo dato castra hostium invadunt; semisomnos partim alios arma sumentis fugant funduntque; Adherbal cum paucis equitibus Cirtam profugit, et ni multitudo togatorum fuisset, quae Numidas insequentis moenibus prohibuit, uno die
3 inter duos reges coeptum atque patratum bellum foret. Igitur

Iugurtha oppidum circumsedit, vineis turribusque et machinis omnium generum expugnare aggreditur, maxume festinans tempus legatorum antecapere, quos ante proelium factum ab Adherbale Romam missos audiverat.

Sed postquam senatus de bello eorum accepit, tres adules- 4
centes in Africam legantur, qui ambos reges adeant, senatus populique Romani verbis nuntient: velle et censere eos ab armis discedere, de controversiis suis iure potius quam bello disceptare: ita seque illisque dignum esse. Legati in Africam **22**
maturantes veniunt, eo magis quod Romae, dum proficisci parant, de proelio facto et oppugnatione Cirtae audiebatur: sed is rumor clemens erat. Quorum Iugurtha accepta oratione re- 2
spondit sibi neque maius quicquam neque carius auctoritate senatus esse; ab adulescentia ita se enisum, ut ab optumo quoque probaretur; virtute, non malitia P. Scipioni, summo viro, placuisse; ob easdem artis a Micipsa, non penuria liberorum, in regnum adoptatum esse: ceterum quo plura bene atque strenue 3
fecisset, eo animum suum iniuriam minus tolerare; Adherbalem 4
dolis vitae suae insidiatum; quod ubi comperisset, sceleri eius obviam isse: populum Romanum neque recte neque pro bono facturum, si ab iure gentium sese prohibuerit; postremo de omnibus rebus legatos Romam brevi missurum. Ita utrique di- 5
grediuntur. Adherbalis appellandi copia non fuit.

Iugurtha ubi eos Africa decessisse ratus est, neque propter **23**
loci naturam Cirtam armis expugnare potest, vallo atque fossa moenia circumdat, turris exstruit easque praesidiis firmat, praeterea dies noctisque aut per vim aut dolis temptare, defensoribus moenium praemia modo modo formidinem ostentare, suos hortando ad virtutem arrigere, prorsus intentus cuncta parare. Adherbal ubi intellegit omnis suas fortunas in extremo sitas, 2
hostem infestum, auxili spem nullam, penuria rerum necessariarum bellum trahi non posse, ex eis, qui una Cirtam profugerant, duos maxume impigros delegit: eos multa pollicendo ac miserando casum suum confirmat, uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proxumum mare, dein Romam pergerent. Numidae **24**
paucis diebus iussa efficiunt: litterae Adherbalis in senatu recitatae, quarum sententia haec fuit:

2 "Non mea culpa saepe ad vos oratum mitto, patres conscripti, sed vis Iugurthae subigit, quem tanta lubido exstinguendi me invasit, ut neque vos neque deos immortalis in animo
3 habeat, sanguinem meum quam omnia malit. Itaque quintum iam mensem socius et amicus populi Romani armis obsessus teneor, neque mihi Micipsae patris mei beneficia neque vostra decreta auxiliantur: ferro an fame acrius urgear, incertus sum.
4 Plura de Iugurtha scribere dehortatur me fortuna mea, et iam
5 antea expertus sum parum fidei miseris esse: nisi tamen intellego illum supra quam ego sum petere, neque simul amicitiam vostram et regnum meum sperare. Utrum gravius exist-
6 umet, nemini occultum est. Nam initio occidit Hiempsalem, fratrem meum, deinde patrio regno me expulit: quae sane
7 fuerint nostrae iniuriae, nihil ad vos. Verum nunc vostrum regnum armis tenet, me, quem vos imperatorem Numidis posuistis, clausum obsidet; legatorum verba quanti fecerit, pericula
8 mea declarant. Quid est reliquom, nisi vis vostra, quo moveri
9 possit? Nam ego quidem vellem, et haec quae scribo, et illa quae antea in senatu questus sum, vana forent potius quam
10 miseria mea fidem verbis faceret. Sed quoniam eo natus sum, ut Iugurthae scelerum ostentui essem, non iam mortem neque aerumnas, tantum modo inimici imperium et cruciatus corporis deprecor. Regno Numidiae, quod vostrum est, uti lubet, consulite: me manibus impiis eripite, per maiestatem imperi, per amicitiae fidem, si ulla apud vos memoria remanet avi mei Masinissae."

25 His litteris recitatis fuere qui exercitum in Africam mittundum censerent et quam primum Adherbali subveniundum, de Iugurtha interim uti consuleretur, quoniam legatis non paru-
2 isset. Sed ab eisdem illis regis fautoribus summa ope enisum
3 est, ne tale decretum fieret. Ita bonum publicum, ut in pler-
4 isque negotiis solet, privata gratia devictum. Legantur tamen in Africam maiores natu nobiles, amplis honoribus usi, in quis fuit M. Scaurus, de quo supra memoravimus, consularis et
5 tum senatus princeps. Ei, quod res in invidia erat, simul et ab Numidis obsecrati, triduo navim ascendere. Dein brevi Uticam appulsi litteras ad Iugurtham mittunt, quam ocissume ad

provinciam accedat, seque ad eum ab senatu missos. Ille ubi 6
accepit homines claros, quorum auctoritatem Romae pollere
audiverat, contra inceptum suum venisse, primo commotus metu
atque lubidine divorsus agitabatur: timebat iram senatus, ni 7
paruisset legatis; porro animus cupidine caecus ad inceptum
scelus rapiebatur. Vicit tamen in avido ingenio pravom con- 8
silium. Igitur exercitu circumdato summa vi Cirtam irrum- 9
pere nititur, maxume sperans diducta manu hostium aut vi aut
dolis sese casum victoriae inventurum. Quod ubi secus pro- 10
cedit neque, quod intenderat, efficere potest, ut, prius quam
legatos conveniret, Adherbalis potiretur, ne amplius morando
Scaurum, quem plurumum metuebat, incenderet, cum paucis
equitibus in provinciam venit. Ac tametsi senati verbis graves 11
minae nuntiabantur, quod ab oppugnatione non desisteret,
multa tamen oratione consumpta legati frustra discessere.

Ea postquam Cirtae audita sunt, Italici, quorum virtute **26**
moenia defensabantur, confisi deditione facta propter magni-
tudinem populi Romani inviolatos sese fore, Adherbali suadent,
uti seque et oppidum Iugurthae tradat, tantum ab eo vitam
paciscatur: de ceteris senatui curae fore. At ille, tametsi om- 2
nia potiora fide Iugurthae rebatur, tamen, quia penes eosdem,
si advorsaretur, cogundi potestas erat, ita, uti censuerant Italici,
deditionem facit. Iugurtha in primis Adherbalem excruciatum 3
necat, deinde omnis puberes Numidas atque negotiatores prom-
iscue, uti quisque armatus obvius fuerat, interficit.

Quod postquam Romae cognitum est et res in senatu agitari **27**
coepta, idem illi ministri regis interpellando ac saepe gratia, in-
terdum iurgiis trahundo tempus atrocitatem facti leniebant. Ac 2
ni C. Memmius, tribunus plebis designatus, vir acer et infestus
potentiae nobilitatis, populum Romanum edocuisset id agi, ut per
paucos factiosos Iugurthae scelus condonaretur, profecto omnis
invidia prolatandis consultationibus dilapsa foret: tanta vis gratiae
atque pecuniae regis erat. Sed ubi senatus delicti conscientia 3
populum timet, lege Sempronia provinciae futuris consulibus Nu-
midia atque Italia decretae; consules declarati P. Scipio Nasica, 4
L. Bestia: Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia obvenit; deinde 5

exercitus, qui in Africam portaretur, scribitur, stipendium aliaque, quae bello usui forent, decernuntur.

28 At Iugurtha contra spem nuntio accepto, quippe cui Romae omnia venum ire in animo haeserat, filium et cum eo duos familiaris ad senatum legatos mittit, eisque, ut illis, quos Hiempsale interfecto miserat, praecipit, omnis mortalis pecunia aggrediantur. 2 Qui postquam Romam adventabant, senatus a Bestia consultus est, placeretne legatos Iugurthae recipi moenibus: eique decrevere, nisi regnum ipsumque deditum venissent, uti in diebus proxumis 3 decem Italia cederent. Consul Numidis ex senatus decreto nuntiari iubet: ita infectis rebus illi domum discedunt.

4 Interim Calpurnius parato exercitu legat sibi homines nobiles factiosos, quorum auctoritate, quae deliquisset, munita fore sperabat: in quis fuit Scaurus, cuius de natura et habitu supra me- 5 moravimus. Nam in consule nostro multae bonaeque artes et animi et corporis erant, quas omnis avaritia praepediebat: patiens laborum, acri ingenio, satis providens, belli haud ignarus, firmis- 6 sumus contra pericula et insidias. Sed legiones per Italiam Regium atque inde Siciliam, porro ex Sicilia in Africam transvec- 7 tae. Igitur Calpurnius initio paratis commeatibus acriter Numidiam ingressus est multosque mortalis et urbis aliquot pugnando **29** cepit. Sed ubi Iugurtha per legatos pecunia temptare bellique, quod administrabat, asperitatem ostendere coepit, animus aeger 2 avaritia facile convorsus est. Ceterum socius et administer omnium consiliorum adsumitur Scaurus, qui, tametsi a principio plerisque ex factione eius corruptis acerrume regem impugnaverat, tamen magnitudine pecuniae a bono honestoque in pravom abstractus est. 3 Sed Iugurtha primum tantum modo belli moram redimebat, existumans sese aliquid interim Romae pretio aut gratia effecturum: postea vero quam participem negoti Scaurum accepit, in maxumam spem adductus recuperandae pacis statuit cum eis de 4 omnibus pactionibus praesens agere. Ceterum interea fidei causa mittitur a consule Sextius quaestor in oppidum Iugurthae Vagam: cuius rei species erat acceptio frumenti, quod Calpurnius palam legatis imperaverat, quoniam deditionis mora indutiae agitaban- 5 tur. Igitur rex, uti constituerat, in castra venit ac pauca praesenti consilio locutus de invidia facti sui atque uti in deditionem

acciperetur, reliqua cum Bestia et Scauro secreta transigit: dein postero die quasi per saturam sententiis exquisitis in deditionem accipitur. Sed, uti pro consilio imperatum erat, elephanti triginta, pecus atque equi multi cum parvo argenti pondere quaestori traduntur. Calpurnius Romam ad magistratus rogandos proficiscitur. In Numidia et exercitu nostro pax agitabatur.

30 Postquam res in Africa gestas quoque modo actae forent fama divolgavit, Romae per omnis locos et conventus de facto consulis agitari. Apud plebem gravis invidia, patres solliciti erant: probarentne tantum flagitium an decretum consulis subvorterent, parum constabat. Ac maxume eos potentia Scauri, quod is auctor et socius Bestiae ferebatur, a vero bonoque impediebat. At C. Memmius, cuius de libertate ingeni et odio potentiae nobilitatis supra diximus, inter dubitationem et moras senatus contionibus populum ad vindicandum hortari, monere ne rem publicam, ne libertatem suam desererent, multa superba et crudelia facinora nobilitatis ostendere: prorsus intentus omni modo plebis animum incendebat.

Sed quoniam ea tempestate Romae Memmi facundia clara pollensque fuit, decere existumavi unam ex tam multis orationem eius perscribere, ac potissumum ea dicam, quae in contione post reditum Bestiae huiusce modi verbis disseruit:

31 "Multa me dehortantur a vobis, Quirites, ni studium rei publicae omnia superet: opes factionis, vostra patientia, ius nullum, ac maxume quod innocentiae plus periculi quam honoris est. Nam illa quidem piget dicere, his annis quindecim quam ludibrio fueritis superbiae paucorum, quam foede quamque inulti perierint vostri defensores, ut vobis animus ab ignavia atque socordia corruptus sit, qui ne nunc quidem obnoxiis inimicis exsurgitis, atque etiam nunc timetis eos, quibus decet terrori esse. Sed quamquam haec talia sunt, tamen obviam ire factionis potentiae animus subigit. Certe ego libertatem, quae mihi a parente meo tradita est, experiar: verum id frustra an ob rem faciam, in vostra manu situm est, Quirites.

Neque ego vos hortor, quod saepe maiores vostri fecere, uti contra iniurias armati eatis. Nihil vi, nihil secessione opus est: necesse est suomet ipsi more praecipites eant. Occiso Ti. Grac-

cho, quem regnum parare aiebant, in plebem Romanam quaestiones habitae sunt; post C. Gracchi et M. Fulvi caedem item vostri ordinis multi mortales in carcere necati sunt: utriusque
8 cladis non lex, verum lubido eorum finem fecit. Sed sane fuerit regni paratio plebi sua restituere; quicquid sine sanguine civium
9 ulcisci nequitur, iure factum sit. Superioribus annis taciti indignabamini aerarium expilari, reges et populos liberos paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere, penes eosdem et summam gloriam et maxumas divitias esse: tamen haec talia facinora impune suscepisse parum habuere, itaque postremo leges, maiestas vostra, divina et
10 humana omnia hostibus tradita sunt. Neque eos, qui ea fecere, pudet aut paenitet, sed incedunt per ora vostra magnifici, sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes: proinde
11 quasi ea honori, non praedae habeant. Servi aere parati iniusta imperia dominorum non perferunt: vos, Quirites, in imperio nati,
12 aequo animo servitutem toleratis? At qui sunt ei, qui rem publicam occupavere? Homines sceleratissumi, cruentis manibus, immani avaritia, nocentissumi et idem superbissumi, quibus fides, decus, pietas, postremo honesta atque inhonesta omnia quaestui
13 sunt. Pars eorum occidisse tribunos plebis, alii quaestiones in-
14 iustas, plerique caedem in vos fecisse pro munimento habent. Ita quam quisque pessume fecit, tam maxume tutus est: metum ab scelere suo ad ignaviam vostram transtulere, quos omnis eadem
15 cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere in unum coegit. Sed haec
16 inter bonos amicitia, inter malos factio est. Quod si tam vos libertatis curam haberetis, quam illi ad dominationem accensi sunt, profecto neque res publica, sicuti nunc, vastaretur, et ben-
17 eficia vostra penes optumos, non audacissumos forent. Maiores vostri parandi iuris et maiestatis constituendae gratia bis per secessionem armati Aventinum occupavere: vos pro libertate, quam ab illis accepistis, nonne summa ope nitemini? atque eo vehementius, quo maius dedecus est parta amittere, quam omnino non paravisse.

18 Dicet aliquis: 'Quid igitur censes? Vindicandum in eos qui hosti prodidere rem publicam?' Non manu neque vi, quod magis vos fecisse quam illis accidisse indignum est, verum quae-
19 stionibus et indicio ipsius Iugurthae. Qui si dediticius est, pro-

fecto iussis vostris oboediens erit; sin ea contemnit, scilicet existumabitis, qualis illa pax aut deditio sit, ex qua ad Iugurtham scelerum impunitas, ad paucos potentis maxumae divitiae, ad rem publicam damna atque dedecora pervenerint: nisi forte nondum 20
etiam vos dominationis eorum satietas tenet et illa quam haec tempora magis placent, cum regna, provinciae, leges, iura, iudicia, bella atque paces, postremo divina et humana omnia penes paucos erant, vos autem, hoc est populus Romanus, invicti ab hostibus, imperatores omnium gentium, satis habebatis animam retinere: nam servitutem quidem quis vostrum recusare audebat?
Atque ego, tametsi viro flagitiosissumum existumo impune 21
iniuriam accepisse, tamen vos hominibus sceleratissumis ignoscere, quoniam cives sunt, aequo animo paterer, ni misericordia in perniciem casura esset. Nam et illis, quantum importunitatis ha- 22
bent, parum est impune male fecisse, nisi deinde faciundi licentia eripitur, et vobis aeterna sollicitudo remanebit, cum intellegetis aut serviundum esse aut per manus libertatem retinendam. Nam 23
fidei quidem aut concordiae quae spes est? Dominari illi volunt, vos liberi esse; facere illi iniurias, vos prohibere; postremo sociis nostris veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. Potestne in 24
tam divorsis mentibus pax aut amicitia esse?

Qua re moneo hortorque vos, ne tantum scelus impunitum 25
omittatis. Non peculatus aerari factus est, neque per vim sociis ereptae pecuniae, quae, quamquam gravia sunt, tamen consuetudine iam pro nihilo habentur: hosti acerrumo prodita senatus auctoritas, proditum imperium vostrum est: domi militiaeque res publica venalis fuit. Quae nisi quaesita erunt, nisi vindicatum in 26
noxios, quid erit reliquom, nisi ut illis, qui ea fecere, oboedientes vivamus? Nam impune quae lubet facere, id est regem esse.

Neque ego vos, Quirites, hortor, ut malitis civis vostros 27
perperam quam recte fecisse, sed ne ignoscundo malis bonos perditum eatis. Ad hoc in re publica multo praestat benefici 28
quam malefici immemorem esse: bonus tantum modo segnior fit, ubi neglegas, at malus improbior. Ad hoc si iniuriae non sint, 29
haud saepe auxili egeas."

Haec atque alia huiusce modi saepius dicundo Memmius po- **32**
pulo persuadet, uti L. Cassius, qui tum praetor erat, ad Iugur-

tham mitteretur eumque interposita fide publica Romam duceret, quo facilius indicio regis Scauri et reliquorum, quos pecuniae captae accersebat, delicta patefierent.

2 Dum haec Romae geruntur, qui in Numidia relicti a Bestia exercitui praeerant, secuti morem imperatoris sui pluruma et fla-
3 gitiosissuma facinora fecere: fuere qui auro corrupti elephantos Iugurthae traderent, alii perfugas vendere, pars ex pacatis praedas agebant: tanta vis avaritiae animos eorum veluti tabes in-
4 vaserat.

5 At Cassius praetor perlata rogatione a C. Memmio ac perculsa omni nobilitate ad Iugurtham proficiscitur, eique timido et ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis persuadet, quoniam se populo Romano dedisset, ne vim quam misericordiam eius experiri mallet. Privatim praeterea fidem suam interponit, quam ille non minoris quam publicam ducebat: talis ea tempestate fama de
33 Cassio erat. Igitur Iugurtha contra decus regium cultu quam
2 maxume miserabili cum Cassio Romam venit. Ac, tametsi in ipso magna vis animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus, quorum potentia aut scelere cuncta ea gesserat, quae supra diximus, C. Baebium tribunum plebis magna mercede parat, cuius impudentia
3 contra ius et iniurias omnis munitus foret. At C. Memmius advocata contione, quamquam regi infesta plebes erat et pars in vincula duci iubebat, pars, nisi socios sceleris sui aperiret, more maiorum de hoste supplicium sumi, dignitati quam irae magis consulens sedare motus et animos eorum mollire, postremo con-
4 firmare fidem publicam per sese inviolatam fore. Post, ubi silentium coepit, producto Iugurtha verba facit, Romae Numidiaeque facinora eius memorat, scelera in patrem fratresque ostendit; quibus iuvantibus quibusque ministris ea egerit, quamquam intellegat populus Romanus, tamen velle manufesta magis ex illo habere; si verum aperiat, in fide et clementia populi Romani magnam spem illi sitam, sin reticeat, non sociis saluti fore, sed se
34 suasque spes corrupturum. Deinde, ubi Memmius dicundi finem fecit et Iugurtha respondere iussus est, C. Baebius tribunus plebis, quem pecunia corruptum supra diximus, regem tacere iubet, ac tametsi multitudo, quae in contione aderat, vehementer accensa terrebat eum clamore, voltu, saepe impetu atque aliis om-

nibus quae ira fieri amat, vicit tamen impudentia. Ita populus 2
ludibrio habitus ex contione discedit: Iugurthae Bestiaeque et
ceteris, quos illa quaestio exagitabat, animi augescunt.

Erat ea tempestate Romae Numida quidam, nomine Massiva, **35**
Gulussae filius, Masinissae nepos, qui, quia in dissensione regum
Iugurthae advorsus fuerat, dedita Cirta et Adherbale interfecto
profugus ex patria abierat. Huic Sp. Albinus, qui proxumo an- 2
no post Bestiam cum Q. Minucio Rufo consulatum gerebat, per-
suadet, quoniam ex stirpe Masinissae sit Iugurthamque ob scelera
invidia cum metu urgeat, regnum Numidiae ab senatu petat.
Avidus consul belli gerundi movere quam senescere omnia male- 3
bat: ipsi provinca Numidia, Minucio Macedonia evenerat. Quae 4
postquam Massiva agitare coepit neque Iugurthae in amicis satis
praesidi est, quod eorum alium conscientia, alium mala fama et
timor impediebat, Bomilcari, proxumo ac maxume fido sibi, im-
perat, pretio, sicuti multa confecerat, insidiatores Massivae paret,
ac maxume occulte, sin id parum procedat, quovis modo Nu-
midam interficiat. Bomilcar mature regis mandata exsequitur et 5
per homines talis negoti artifices itinera egressusque eius, postre-
mo loca atque tempora cuncta explorat: deinde, ubi res postula-
bat, insidias tendit. Igitur unus ex eo numero, qui ad caedem 6
parati erant, paulo inconsultius Massivam aggreditur: illum ob-
truncat, sed ipse deprehensus multis hortantibus et in primis Al-
bino consule indicium profitetur. Fit reus magis ex aequo bono- 7
que quam ex iure gentium Bomilcar, comes eius, qui Romam fide
publica venerat. At Iugurtha manufestus tanti sceleris non 8
prius omisit contra verum niti, quam animum advortit supra
gratiam atque pecuniam suam invidiam facti esse. Igitur, quam- 9
quam in priore actione ex amicis quinquaginta vades dederat,
regno magis quam vadibus consulens clam in Numidiam Bomil-
carem dimittit, veritus, ne reliquos popularis metus invaderet
parendi sibi, si de illo supplicium sumptum foret. Et ipse paucis
diebus eodem profectus est, iussus a senatu Italia decedere. Sed 10
postquam Roma egressus est, fertur saepe eo tacitus respiciens
postremo dixisse "urbem venalem et mature perituram, si emp-
torem invenerit."

Interim Albinus renovato bello commeatum, stipendium alia- **36**

que, quae militibus usui forent, maturat in Africam portare: ac statim ipse profectus, uti ante comitia, quod tempus haud longe aberat, armis aut deditione aut quovis modo bellum conficeret.
2 At contra Iugurtha trahere omnia et alias, deinde alias morae causas facere, polliceri deditionem ac deinde metum simulare, cedere instanti et paulo post, ne sui diffiderent, instare: ita belli
3 modo modo pacis mora consulem ludificare. Ac fuere qui tum Albinum haud ignarum consili regis existumarent, neque ex tanta properantia tam facile tractum bellum socordia magis quam
4 dolo crederent. Sed postquam dilapso tempore comitiorum dies adventabat, Albinus Aulo fratre in castris pro praetore relicto Romam decessit.

37 Ea tempestate Romae seditionibus tribuniciis atrociter res
2 publica agitabatur. P. Lucullus et L. Annius, tribuni plebis, resistentibus collegis continuare magistratum nitebantur, quae
3 dissensio totius anni comitia impediebat. Ea mora in spem adductus Aulus, quem pro praetore in castris relictum supra diximus, aut conficiundi belli aut terrore exercitus ab rege pecuniae capiundae, milites mense Ianuario ex hibernis in expeditionem evocat, magnisque itineribus hieme aspera pervenit ad oppi-
4 dum Suthul, ubi regis thesauri erant. Quod quamquam et saevitia temporis et opportunitate loci neque capi neque obsideri poterat — nam circum murum situm in paerupti montis extremo planities limosa hiemalibus aquis paludem fecerat—tamen aut simulandi gratia, quo regi formidinem adderet, aut cupidine caecus ob thesauros oppidi potiundi, vineas agere, aggerem iacere
38 aliaque, quae incepto usui forent, properare. At Iugurtha cognita vanitate atque imperitia legati subdole eius augere amentiam, missitare supplicantis legatos, ipse quasi vitabundus per saltuosa
2 loca et tramites exercitum ductare. Denique Aulum spe pactionis perpulit, uti relicto Suthule in abditas regiones sese veluti
3 cedentem insequeretur: ita delicta occultiora fuere. Interea per homines callidos diu noctuque exercitum temptabat, centuriones ducesque turmarum partim uti transfugerent corrumpere, alii
4 signo dato locum uti desererent. Quae postquam ex sententia instruit, intempesta nocte de improviso multitudine Numidarum
5 Auli castra circumvenit. Milites Romani, perculsi tumultu in-

solito, arma capere alii, alii se abdere, pars territos confirmare, trepidare omnibus locis; vis magna hostium, caelum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum, periculum anceps; postremo fugere an manere tutius foret, in incerto erat. Sed ex eo numero, quos 6
paulo ante corruptos diximus, cohors una Ligurum cum duabus turmis Thracum et paucis gregariis militibus transiere ad regem, et centurio primi pili tertiae legionis per munitionem, quam uti defenderet acceperat, locum hostibus introeundi dedit, eaque Numidae cuncti irrupere. Nostri foeda fuga, plerique abiectis 7
armis, proxumum collem occupaverant. Nox atque praeda cas- 8
trorum hostis, quo minus victoria uterentur, remorata sunt. Deinde Iugurtha postero die cum Aulo in colloquio verba facit: 9
tametsi ipsum cum exercitu fame et ferro clausum teneret, tamen se memorem humanarum rerum, si secum foedus faceret, incolumis omnis sub iugum missurum: praeterea uti diebus decem Numidia decederet. Quae quamquam gravia et flagiti plena 10
erant, tamen, quia mortis metu mutabantur, sicuti regi lubuerat, pax convenit.

Sed ubi ea Romae comperta sunt, metus atque maeror civi- **39**
tatem invasere. Pars dolere pro gloria imperi, pars insolita rerum bellicarum timere libertati: Aulo omnes infesti, ac maxume qui bello saepe praeclari fuerant, quod armatus dedecore potius quam manu salutem quaesiverat. Ob ea consul Albinus ex de- 2
licto fratris invidiam ac deinde periculum timens senatum de foedere consulebat, et tamen interim exercitui supplementum scribere, ab sociis et nomine Latino auxilia accersere, denique omnibus modis festinare. Senatus ita, uti par fuerat, decernit suo 3
atque populi iniussu nullum potuisse foedus fieri. Consul im- 4
peditus a tribunis plebis, ne quas paraverat copias secum portaret, paucis diebus in Africam proficiscitur: nam omnis exercitus, uti convenerat, Numidia deductus in provincia hiemabat. Postquam 5
eo venit, quamquam persequi Iugurtham et mederi fraternae invidiae animo ardebat, cognitis militibus, quos praeter fugam soluto imperio licentia atque lascivia corruperat, ex copia rerum statuit sibi nihil agitandum.

Interim Romae C. Mamilius Limetanus, tribunus plebis, ro- **40**
gationem ad populum promulgat, uti quaereretur in eos, quorum

consilio Iugurtha senati decreta neglegisset, quique ab eo in legationibus aut imperiis pecunias accepissent, qui elephantos quique perfugas tradidissent, item qui de pace aut bello cum hostibus pactiones fecissent. Huic rogationi partim conscii sibi, alii ex partium invidia pericula metuentes, quoniam aperte resistere non poterant, quin illa et alia talia placere sibi faterentur, occulte per amicos ac maxume per homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos impedimenta parabant. Sed plebes incredibile memoratu est quam intenta fuerit quantaque vi rogationem iusserit, magis odio nobilitatis, cui mala illa parabantur, quam cura rei publicae: tanta lubido in partibus erat. Igitur ceteris metu perculsis M. Scaurus, quem legatum Bestiae fuisse supra docuimus, inter laetitiam plebis et suorum fugam, trepida etiam tum civitate, cum ex Mamilia rogatione tres quaesitores rogarentur, effecerat, uti ipse in eo numero crearetur. Sed quaestio exercita aspere violenterque ex rumore et lubidine plebis: ut saepe nobilitatem, sic ea tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.

41 Ceterum mos partium popularium et factionum ac deinde omnium malarum artium paucis ante annis Romae ortus est otio atque abundantia earum rerum, quae prima mortales ducunt. Nam ante Carthaginem deletam populus et senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se rem publicam tractabant, neque gloriae neque dominationis certamen inter civis erat: metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi illa formido mentibus decessit, scilicet ea, quae res secundae amant, lascivia atque superbia, incessere. Ita quod in advorsis rebus optaverant otium, postquam adepti sunt, asperius acerbiusque fuit. Namque coepere nobilitas dignitatem, populus libertatem in lubidinem vortere, sibi quisque ducere, trahere, rapere. Ita omnia in duas partis abstracta sunt, res publica, quae media fuerat, dilacerata. Ceterum nobilitas factione magis pollebat, plebis vis soluta atque dispersa in multitudine minus poterat. Paucorum arbitrio belli domique agitabatur; penes eosdem aerarium, provinciae, magistratus, gloriae triumphique erant; populus militia atque inopia urgebatur; praedas bellicas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant: interea parentes aut parvi liberi militum, uti quisque potentiori confinis

erat, sedibus pellebantur. Ita cum potentia avaritia sine modo 9
modestiaque invadere, polluere et vastare omnia, nihil pensi neque sancti habere, quoad semet ipsa praecipitavit. Nam ubi pri- 10
mum ex nobilitate reperti sunt qui veram gloriam iniustae potentiae anteponerent, moveri civitas et dissensio civilis quasi permixtio terrae oriri coepit. Nam postquam Ti. et C. Gracchus, **42**
quorum maiores Punico atque aliis bellis multum rei publicae addiderant, vindicare plebem in libertatem et paucorum scelera patefacere coepere, nobilitas noxia atque eo perculsa modo per socios ac nomen Latinum, interdum per equites Romanos, quos spes societatis a plebe dimoverat, Gracchorum actionibus obviam ierat, et primo Tiberium, dein paucos post annos eadem ingredientem Gaium, tribunum alterum, alterum triumvirum coloniis deducundis, cum M. Fulvio Flacco ferro necaverat. Et 2
sane Gracchis cupidine victoriae haud satis moderatus animus fuit. Sed bono vinci satius est quam malo more iniuriam vincere. 3
Igitur ea victoria nobilitas ex lubidine sua usa multos mortalis 4
ferro aut fuga exstinxit plusque in reliquom sibi timoris quam potentiae addidit. Quae res plerumque magnas civitates pessum dedit, dum alteri alteros vincere quovis modo et victos acerbius ulcisci volunt. Sed de studiis partium et omnis civitatis 5
moribus si singillatim aut pro magnitudine parem disserere, tempus quam res maturius me deserat. Quam ob rem ad inceptum redeo.

Post Auli foedus exercitusque nostri foedam fugam Metellus **43**
et Silanus consules designati provincias inter se partiverant, Metelloque Numidia evenerat, acri viro et quamquam advorso populi partium fama tamen aequabili et inviolata. Is ubi primum ma- 2
gistratum ingressus est, alia omnia sibi cum collega ratus, ad bellum, quod gesturus erat, animum intendit. Igitur diffidens 3
veteri exercitui milites scribere, praesidia undique arcessere, arma, tela, equos et cetera instrumenta militiae parare, ad hoc commeatum affatim, denique omnia quae in bello vario et multarum rerum egenti usui esse solent. Ceterum ad ea patranda senatus 4
auctoritate, socii nomenque Latinum et reges ultro auxilia mittundo, postremo omnis civitas summo studio adnitebatur. Itaque 5
ex sententia omnibus rebus paratis compositisque in Numidiam

proficiscitur, magna spe civium cum propter artis bonas tum maxume, quod advorsum divitias invictum animum gerebat et avaritia magistratuum ante id tempus in Numidia nostrae opes contusae hostiumque auctae erant.

44 Sed ubi in Africam venit, exercitus ei traditur a Sp. Albino pro consule iners, imbellis, neque periculi neque laboris patiens, lingua quam manu promptior, praedator ex sociis et ipse praeda 2 hostium, sine imperio et modestia habitus. Ita imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis quam ex copia militum auxili 3 aut spei bonae accedebat. Statuit tamen Metellus, quamquam et aestivorum tempus comitiorum mora imminuerat et exspectatione eventus civium animos intentos putabat, non prius bellum attin- 4 gere quam maiorum disciplina milites laborare coegisset. Nam Albinus, Auli fratris exercitusque clade perculsus, postquam decreverat non egredi provincia, quantum temporis aestivorum in imperio fuit, plerumque milites stativis castris habebat, nisi cum 5 odos aut pabuli egestas locum mutare subegerat. Sed neque muniebantur, neque more militari vigiliae deducebantur; uti cuique lubebat, ab signis aberat; lixae permixti cum militibus diu noctuque vagabantur; et palantes agros vastare, villas expugnare, pecoris et mancipiorum praedas certantes agere, eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino advecticio et aliis talibus, praeterea frumentum publice datum vendere, panem in dies mercari: postremo quaecumque dici aut fingi queunt ignaviae luxuriaeque probra, in illo **45** exercitu cuncta fuere et alia amplius. Sed in ea difficultate Metellum non minus quam in rebus hostilibus magnum et sapientem virum fuisse comperior: tanta temperantia inter ambitionem saevitiamque moderatum: namque edicto primum adiumenta ignaviae sustulisse, ne quisquam in castris panem aut quem alium coctum cibum venderet, ne lixae exercitum sequerentur, ne miles gregarius in castris neve in agmine servom aut iumentum haberet: ceteris arte modum statuisse. Praeterea transvorsis itineribus cotidie castra movere, iuxta ac si hostes adessent vallo atque fossa munire, vigilias crebras ponere et eas ipse cum legatis circumire, item in agmine in primis modo, modo in postremis, saepe in medio adesse, ne quispiam ordine egrederetur, ut cum signis 3 frequentes incederent, miles cibum et arma portaret. Ita pro-

hibendo a delictis magis quam vindicando exercitum brevi confirmavit.

Interea Iugurtha, ubi, quae Metellus agebat, ex nuntiis accepit, simul de innocentia eius certior Roma factus, diffidere suis rebus ac tum demum veram deditionem facere conatus est. Igitur legatos ad consulem cum suppliciis mittit, qui tantum modo ipsi liberisque vitam peterent, alia omnia dederent populo Romano. **46** 2

Sed Metello iam antea experimentis cognitum erat genus Numidarum infidum, ingenio mobili, novarum rerum avidum esse. Itaque legatos alium ab alio divorsos aggreditur ac paulatim temptando, postquam opportunos sibi cognovit, multa pollicendo persuadet, uti Iugurtham maxume vivom, sin id parum procedat, necatum sibi traderent: ceterum palam, quae ex voluntate forent regi, nuntiare iubet. Deinde ipse paucis diebus intento atque infesto exercitu in Numidiam procedit, ubi contra belli faciem tuguria plena hominum, pecora cultoresque in agris erant: ex oppidis et mapalibus praefecti regis obvii procedebant, parati frumentum dare, commeatum portare, postremo omnia quae imperarentur facere. Neque Metellus idcirco minus, sed pariter ac si hostes adessent, munito agmine incedere, late explorare omnia, illa deditionis signa ostentui credere et insidiis locum temptare. Itaque ipse cum expeditis cohortibus, item funditorum et sagittariorum delecta manu apud primos erat, in postremo C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat, in utrumque latus auxiliarios equites tribunis legionum et praefectis cohortium dispertiverat, ut cum eis permixti velites, quocumque accederent, equitatus hostium propulsarent. Nam in Iugurtha tantus dolus tantaque peritia locorum et militiae erat, ut, absens an praesens, pacem an bellum gerens perniciosior esset, in incerto haberetur. 3 4 5 6 7 8

Erat haud longe ab eo itinere, quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum, nomine Vaga, forum rerum venalium totius regni maxume celebratum, ubi et incolere et mercari consueverant Italici generis multi mortales. Huc consul, simul temptandi gratia et si paterentur opportunitates loci, praesidium imposuit; praeterea imperavit frumentum et alia, quae bello usui forent, comportare, ratus, id quod res monebat, frequentiam ne- **47** 2

gotiatorum et commeatu iuvaturam exercitum et iam paratis rebus munimento fore.

3 Inter haec negotia Iugurtha impensius modo legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare, praeter suam liberorumque vitam omnia
4 Metello dedere. Quos item, uti priores, consul illectos ad proditionem domum dimittebat, regi pacem quam postulabat neque abnuere neque polliceri, et inter eas moras promissa legatorum
48 exspectare. Iugurtha ubi Metelli dicta cum factis composuit ac se suis artibus temptari animum advortit, quippe cui verbis pax nuntiabatur, ceterum re bellum asperrumum erat, urbs maxuma alienata, ager hostibus cognitus, animi popularium temptati, co-
2 actus rerum necessitudine statuit armis certare. Igitur explorato hostium itinere in spem victoriae adductus ex opportunitate loci, quam maxumas potest copias omnium generum parat ac per tramites occultos exercitum Metelli antevenit.

3 Erat in ea parte Numidiae, quam Adherbal in divisione possederat, flumen oriens a meridie, nomine Muthul, a quo aberat mons ferme milia passuum viginti tractu pari, vastus ab natura et humano cultu: sed ex eo medio quasi collis oriebatur, in immensum pertingens, vestitus oleastro ac murtetis aliisque generi-
4 bus arborum, quae humi arido atque harenoso gignuntur. Media autem planities deserta penuria aquae praeter flumini propinqua loca: ea consita arbustis pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.

49 Igitur in eo colle, quem transvorso itinere porrectum docuimus, Iugurtha extenuata suorum acie consedit, elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium Bomilcarem praefecit eumque edocet, quae ageret; ipse propior montem cum omni equitatu et peditibus delectis suos collocat. Dein singulas turmas et manipulos
2 circumiens monet atque obtestatur, uti memores pristinae virtutis et victoriae sese regnumque suum ab Romanorum avaritia defendant: cum eis certamen fore, quos antea victos sub iugum miserint; ducem illis, non animum mutatum; quae ab imperatore decuerint, omnia suis provisa, locum superiorem, ut prudentes cum imperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus aut rudes cum belli
3 melioribus manum consererent; proinde parati intentique essent signo dato Romanos invadere: illum diem aut omnis labores et victorias confirmaturum aut maxumarum aerumnarum initium

fore. Ad hoc viritim, uti quemque ob militare facinus pecunia 4
aut honore extulerat, commonefacere benefici sui et eum ipsum
aliis ostentare, postremo pro cuiusque ingenio pollicendo, mi-
nitando, obtestando alium alio modo excitare, cum interim Me-
tellus ignarus hostium monte degrediens cum exercitu conspica-
tur. Primo dubius, quidnam insolita facies ostenderet — nam 5
inter virgulta equi Numidaeque consederant, neque plane occul-
tati humilitate arborum, et tamen incerti, quidnam esset, cum
natura loci tum dolo ipsi atque signa militaria obscurati—dein
brevi cognitis insidiis paulisper agmen constituit. Ibi commuta- 6
tis ordinibus in dextero latere, quod proxumum hostis erat, tri-
plicibus subsidiis aciem instruxit, inter manipulos funditores et
sagittarios dispertit, equitatum omnem in cornibus locat, ac pau-
ca pro tempore milites hortatus aciem, sicuti instruxerat, trans-
vorsis principiis in planum deducit. Sed ubi Numidas quietos **50**
neque colle degredi animadvortit, veritus ex anni tempore et
inopia aquae, ne siti conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium legatum
cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitum praemisit ad flumen,
uti locum castris antecaperet, existumans hostis crebro impetu
et transvorsis proeliis iter suum remoraturos et, quoniam armis
diffiderent, lassitudinem et sitim militum temptaturos. Deinde 2
ipse pro re atque loco, sicuti monte descenderat, paulatim pro-
cedere, Marium post principia habere, ipse cum sinistrae alae
equitibus esse, qui in agmine principes facti erant.

At Iugurtha, ubi extremum agmen Metelli primos suos 3
praetergressum videt, praesidio quasi duum milium peditum mon-
tem occupat, qua Metellus descenderat, ne forte cedentibus ad-
vorsariis receptui ac post munimento foret: dein repente signo
dato hostis invadit. Numidae alii postremos caedere, pars a 4
sinistra ac dextra temptare, infensi adesse atque instare, omnibus
locis Romanorum ordines conturbare, quorum etiam qui firmior-
ibus animis obvii hostibus fuerant, ludificati incerto proelio ipsi
modo eminus sauciabantur, neque contra feriundi aut con-
serundi manum copia erat: ante iam docti ab Iugurtha equites, 5
ubi Romanorum turma insequi coeperat, non confertim neque
in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius alio quam maxume divorsi.
Ita numero priores, si ab persequendo hostis deterrere nequiv- 6

erant, disiectos ab tergo aut lateribus circumveniebant: sin opportunior fugae collis quam campi fuerat, ea vero consueti Numidarum equi facile inter virgulta evadere, nostros asperitas et
51 insolentia loci retinebat. Ceterum facies totius negoti varia, incerta, foeda atque miserabilis: dispersi a suis pars cedere alii insequi, neque signa neque ordines observare, ubi quemque periculum ceperat, ibi resistere ac propulsare: arma, tela, equi, viri, hostes atque cives permixti, nihil consilio neque imperio agi,
2 fors omnia regere. Itaque multum diei processerat, cum etiam
3 tum eventus in incerto erat. Denique omnibus labore et aestu languidis Metellus, ubi videt Numidas minus instare, paulatim milites in unum conducit, ordines restituit et cohortis legionarias quattuor advorsum pedites hostium collocat. Eorum magna pars
4 superioribus locis fessa consederat. Simul orare et hortari milites, ne deficerent neu paterentur hostis fugientis vincere: neque illis castra esse neque munimentum ullum, quo cedentes ten-
5 derent: in armis omnia sita. Sed ne Iugurtha quidem interea quietus erat: circumire, hortari, renovare proelium et ipse cum delectis temptare omnia; subvenire suis, hostibus dubiis instare,
52 quos firmos cognoverat, eminus pugnando retinere. Eo modo inter se duo imperatores, summi viri, certabant, ipsi pares, ce-
2 terum opibus disparibus. Nam Metello virtus militum erat, locus advorsus, Iugurthae alia omnia praeter milites opportuna.
3 Denique Romani, ubi intellegunt neque sibi perfugium esse neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri—et iam die vesper erat—ad-
4 vorso colle, sicuti praeceptum fuerat, evadunt. Amisso loco Numidae fusi fugatique; pauci interiere, plerosque velocitas et regio hostibus ignara tutata sunt.

5 Interea Bomilcar, quem elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium praefectum ab Iugurtha supra diximus, ubi eum Rutilius praetergressus est, paulatim suos in aequom locum deducit ac, dum legatus ad flumen, quo praemissus erat, festinans pergit,
6 quietus, uti res postulabat, aciem exornat neque remittit, quid ubique hostis ageret, explorare. Postquam Rutilium consedisse iam et animo vacuom accepit simulque ex Iugurthae proelio clamorem augeri, veritus, ne legatus cognita re laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem, quam diffidens virtuti militum arte statuerat,

quo hostium itineri officeret, latius porrigit eoque modo ad Rutili castra procedit. Romani ex improviso pulveris vim magnam animadvortunt: nam prospectum ager arbustis consitus prohibebat. Et primo rati humum aridam vento agitari, post ubi aequabilem manere et, sicuti acies movebatur, magis magisque appropinquare vident, cognita re properantes arma capiunt ac pro castris, sicuti imperabatur, consistunt. Deinde, ubi propius ventum est, utrimque magno clamore concurritur. Numidae tantum modo remorati, dum in elephantis auxilium putant, postquam eos impeditos ramis arborum atque ita disiectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt, ac plerique abiectis armis collis aut noctis, quae iam aderat, auxilio integri abeunt. Elephanti quattuor capti, reliqui omnes, numero quadraginta, interfecti. **53** 2 3 4

At Romani quamquam itinere atque opere castrorum et proelio fessi erant, tamen, quod Metellus amplius opinione morabatur, instructi intentique obviam procedunt: nam dolus Numidarum nihil languidi neque remissi patiebatur. Ac primo obscura nocte, postquam haud procul inter se erant, strepitu velut hostes adventare, alteri apud alteros formidinem simul et tumultum facere, et paene imprudentia admissum facinus miserabile, ni utrimque praemissi equites rem exploravissent. Igitur pro metu repente gaudium mutatur, milites alius alium laeti appellant, acta edocent atque audiunt, sua quisque fortia facta ad caelum fert. Quippe res humanae ita sese habent: in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet, advorsae res etiam bonos detrectant. 5 6 7 8

Metellus in eisdem castris quadriduo moratus saucios cum cura reficit, meritos in proeliis more militiae donat, univorsos in contione laudat atque agit gratias; hortatur, ad cetera, quae levia sunt, parem animum gerant: pro victoria satis iam pugnatum, reliquos labores pro praeda fore. Tamen interim transfugas et alios opportunos, Iugurtha ubi gentium aut quid agitaret, cum paucisne esset an exercitum haberet, ut sese victus gereret, exploratum misit. At ille sese in loca saltuosa et natura munita receperat, ibique cogebat exercitum numero hominum ampliorem, sed hebetem infirmumque, agri ac pecoris magis quam belli cultorem. Id ea gratia eveniebat, quod praeter regios equites nemo omnium Numida ex fuga regem sequitur: quo cuiusque animus **54** 2 3 4

fert, eo discedunt, neque id flagitium militiae ducitur: ita se mores habent.

5 Igitur Metellus, ubi videt regis etiam tum animum ferocem esse, bellum renovari, quod nisi ex illius lubidine geri non posset, praeterea iniquom certamen sibi cum hostibus, minore detrimento illos vinci quam suos vincere, statuit non proeliis neque in acie,
6 sed alio more bellum gerundum. Itaque in loca Numidiae opulentissuma pergit, agros vastat, multa castella et oppida, temere munita aut sine praesidio, capit incenditque, puberes interficit, iubet alia omnia militum praedam esse. Ea formidine multi mortales Romanis dediti obsides, frumentum et alia, quae usui forent, affatim praebita, ubicumque res postulabat, praesidium imposi-
7 tum. Quae negotia multo magis quam proelium male pugnatum
8 ab suis regem terrebant: quippe, cuius spes omnis in fuga sita erat, sequi cogebatur, et qui sua loca defendere nequiverat, in
9 alienis bellum gerere. Tamen ex copia quod optumum videbatur consilium capit: exercitum plerumque in eisdem locis operiri iubet, ipse cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur, nocturnis et aviis itineribus ignoratus Romanos palantis repente ag-
10 greditur. Eorum plerique inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur, nemo omnium intactus profugit, et Numidae, priusquam ex castris subveniretur, sicuti iussi erant, in proxumos collis discedunt.

55 Interim Romae gaudium ingens ortum cognitis Metelli rebus, ut seque et exercitum more maiorum gereret, in advorso loco victor tamen virtute fuisset, hostium agro potiretur, Iugurtham magnificum ex Albini socordia spem salutis in solitudine aut fuga
2 coegisset habere. Itaque senatus ob ea feliciter acta dis immortalibus supplicia decernere, civitas trepida antea et sollicita de belli eventu laeta agere, de Metello fama praeclara esse.

3 Igitur eo intentior ad victoriam niti, omnibus modis festinare,
cavere tamen, ne cubi hosti opportunus fieret, meminisse post glo-
4 riam invidiam sequi. Ita quo clarior erat, eo magis anxius erat, neque post insidias Iugurthae effuso exercitu praedari; ubi frumento aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu praesidium agitabant; exercitus partem ipse, reliquos Marius ducebat.
5/6 Sed igni magis quam praeda ager vastabatur. Duobus locis haud
7 longe inter se castra faciebant: ubi vi opus erat, cuncti aderant,

ceterum, quo fuga atque formido latius cresceret, divorsi agebant. Eo tempore Iugurtha per collis sequi, tempus aut locum pugnae 8 quaerere, qua venturum hostem audierat, pabulum et aquarum fontis, quorum penuria erat, corrumpere, modo se Metello interdum Mario ostendere, postremos in agmine temptare ac statim in collis regredi, rursus aliis, post aliis minitari, neque proelium facere neque otium pati, tantum modo hostem ab incepto retinere.

Romanus imperator ubi se dolis fatigari videt neque ab hoste **56** copiam pugnandi fieri, urbem magnam et in ea parte, qua sita erat, arcem regni, nomine Zamam, statuit oppugnare, ratus, id quod negotium poscebat, Iugurtham laborantibus suis auxilio venturum, ibique proelium fore. At ille, quae parabantur, a per- 2 fugis edoctus magnis itineribus Metellum antevenit; oppidanos hortatur moenia defendant, additis auxilio perfugis, quod genus ex copiis regis, quia fallere nequibat, firmissumum erat; praeterea pollicetur in tempore semet cum exercitu affore.

Ita compositis rebus in loca quam maxume occulta discedit, 3 ac post paulo cognoscit Marium ex itinere frumentatum cum paucis cohortibus Siccam missum, quod oppidum primum omnium post malam pugnam ab rege defecerat. Eo cum delectis 4 equitibus noctu pergit et iam egredientibus Romanis in porta pugnam facit; simul magna voce Siccensis hortatur uti cohortis ab tergo circumveniant; fortunam illis praeclari facinoris casum dare; si id fecerint, postea sese in regno, illos in libertate sine metu aetatem acturos. Ac ni Marius signa inferre atque eva- 5 dere oppido properavisset, profecto cuncti aut magna pars Siccensium fidem mutavissent: tanta mobilitate sese Numidae gerunt. Sed milites Iugurthini, paulisper ab rege sustentati, post- 6 quam maiore vi hostes urgent, paucis amissis profugi discedunt.

Marius ad Zamam pervenit. Id oppidum, in campo situm, **57** magis opere quam natura munitum erat, nullius idoneae rei egens, armis virisque opulentum. Igitur Metellus pro tempore 2 atque loco paratis rebus cuncta moenia exercitu circumvenit, legatis imperat ubi quisque curaret. Deinde signo dato undique 3 simul clamor ingens oritur, neque ea res Numidas terret: infensi intentique sine tumultu manent: proelium incipitur. Romani, 4 pro ingenio quisque, pars eminus glande aut lapidibus pugnare,

alii succedere ac murum modo suffodere modo scalis aggredi,
5 cupere proelium in manibus facere. Contra ea oppidani in
proxumos saxa volvere, sudis, pila, praeterea picem sulphure et
6 taeda mixtam ardentia mittere. Sed ne illos quidem, qui procul
manserant, timor animi satis muniverat: nam plerosque iacula
tormentis aut manu emissa volnerabant, parique periculo, sed
fama impari boni atque ignavi erant.

58 Dum apud Zamam sic certatur, Iugurtha ex improviso cas-
tra hostium cum magna manu invadit; remissis, qui in praesidio
erant, et omnia magis quam proelium exspectantibus portam ir-
2 rumpit. At nostri repentino metu perculsi sibi quisque pro mori-
bus consulunt: alii fugere, alii arma capere, magna pars volnerati
3 aut occisi. Ceterum ex omni multitudine non amplius quadra-
ginta, memores nominis Romani, grege facto locum cepere paulo
quam alii editiorem, neque inde maxuma vi depelli quiverunt, sed
tela eminus missa remittere, pauci in pluribus minus frustrari:
sin Numidae propius accessissent, ibi vero virtutem ostendere et
4 eos maxuma vi caedere, fundere atque fugare. Interim Metellus
cum acerrume rem gereret, clamorem hostilem a tergo accepit:
dein convorso equo animadvortit fugam ad se vorsum fieri, quae
5 res indicabat popularis esse. Igitur equitatum omnem ad castra
propere misit ac statim C. Marium cum cohortibus sociorum,
eumque lacrumans per amicitiam perque rem publicam obsecrat,
ne quam contumeliam remanere in exercitu victore, neve hostis
6 inultos abire sinat. Illi brevi mandata efficit. At Iugurtha muni-
mento castrorum impeditus, cum alii super vallum praecipitaren-
tur, alii in angustiis ipsi sibi properantes officerent, multis amis-
sis in loca munita sese recepit. Metellus infecto negotio, post-
quam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu revortitur.

59 Igitur postero die, priusquam ad oppugnandum egrederetur,
equitatum omnem in ea parte, qua regis adventus erat, pro
castris agitare iubet, portas et proxuma loca tribunis dispertit,
deinde ipse pergit ad oppidum atque uti superiore die murum
2 aggreditur. Interim Iugurtha ex occulto repente nostros in-
vadit: qui in proxumo locati fuerant, paulisper territi perturban-
3 tur, reliqui cito subveniunt. Neque diutius Numidae resistere
quivissent, ni pedites cum equitibus permixti magnam cladem in

congressu facerent: quibus illi freti, non, uti equestri proelio solet, sequi, dein cedere, sed advorsis equis concurrere, implicare ac perturbare aciem: ita expeditis peditibus suis hostis paene victos dare. Eodem tempore apud Zamam magna vi certabatur. **60**
Ubi quisque legatus aut tribunus curabat, eo acerrume niti, neque alius in alio magis quam in sese spem habere; pariterque oppidani agere: oppugnare aut parare omnibus locis, avidius alteri alteros sauciare quam semet tegere; clamor permixtus hortatione, laetitia, gemitu, item strepitus armorum ad caelum ferri, tela utrimque volare. Sed illi, qui moenia defensabant, ubi hostes paulum modo pugnam remiserant, intenti proelium equestre prospectabant: eos, uti quaeque Iugurthae res erant, laetos modo modo pavidos animadvorteres, ac, sicuti audiri a suis aut cerni possent, monere alii alii hortari, aut manu significare aut niti corporibus, et ea huc et illuc quasi vitabundi aut iacientes tela agitare. Quod ubi Mario cognitum est—nam is in ea parte curabat—consulto lenius agere ac diffidentiam rei simulare, pati Numidas sine tumultu regis proelium visere. Ita illis studio suorum adstrictis repente magna vi murum aggreditur, et iam scalis egressi milites prope summa ceperant, cum oppidani concurrunt, lapides, ignem, alia praeterea tela ingerunt. Nostri primo resistere; deinde, ubi unae atque alterae scalae comminutae, qui supersteterant, afflicti sunt, ceteri, quoquo modo potuere, pauci integri, magna pars volneribus confecti abeunt. Denique utrimque proelium nox diremit.

Metellus postquam videt frustra inceptum, neque oppidum **61**
capi neque Iugurtham nisi ex insidiis aut suo loco pugnam facere, et iam aestatem exactam esse, ab Zama discedit, et in eis urbibus, quae ad se defecerant satisque munitae loco aut moenibus erant, praesidia imponit, ceterum exercitum in provinciam, quae proxuma est Numidiae, hiemandi gratia collocat. Neque id tempus ex aliorum more quieti aut luxuriae concedit, sed quoniam armis bellum parum procedebat, insidias regi per amicos tendere et eorum perfidia pro armis uti parat. Igitur Bomilcarem, qui Romae cum Iugurtha fuerat et inde vadibus datis de Massivae nece iudicium fugerat, quod ei per maxumam amicitiam maxuma copia fallundi erat, multis pollicitationibus aggre-

5 ditur. Ac primo efficit, uti ad se colloquendi gratia occultus
veniat; deinde fide data, si Iugurtham vivom aut necatum sibi
tradidisset, fore ut illi senatus impunitatem et sua omnia conce-
deret, facile Numidae persuadet, cum ingenio infido, tum me-
tuenti, ne, si pax cum Romanis fieret, ipse per condiciones ad
62 supplicium traderetur. Is, ubi primum opportunum fuit, Iugur-
tham anxium ac miserantem fortunas suas accedit; monet atque
lacrumans obtestatur, uti aliquando sibi liberisque et genti Nu-
midarum optume meritae provideat: omnibus proeliis sese vic-
tos, agrum vastatum, multos mortalis captos, occisos, regni opes
comminutas esse; satis saepe iam et virtutem militum et for-
tunam temptatam: caveat, ne illo cunctante Numidae sibi con-
2 sulant. His atque talibus aliis ad deditionem regis animum im-
3 pellit. Mittuntur ad imperatorem legati, qui Iugurtham im-
perata facturum dicerent ac sine ulla pactione sese regnumque
4 suum in illius fidem tradere. Metellus propere cunctos senatorii
ordinis ex hibernis accersi iubet; eorum et aliorum, quos idoneos
5 ducebat, consilium habet. Ita more maiorum ex consili decreto
per legatos Iugurthae imperat argenti pondo ducenta milia, ele-
6 phantos omnis, equorum et armorum aliquantum. Quae post-
quam sine mora facta sunt, iubet omnis perfugas vinctos adduci.
7 Eorum magna pars, uti iussum erat, adducti, pauci, cum primum
deditio coepit, ad regem Bocchum in Mauretaniam abierant.
8 Igitur Iugurtha, ubi armis virisque et pecunia spoliatus est, cum
ipse ad imperandum Tisidium vocaretur, rursus coepit flectere
9 animum suum et ex mala conscientia digna timere. Denique
multis diebus per dubitationem consumptis, cum modo taedio
rerum advorsarum omnia bello potiora duceret, interdum secum
ipse reputaret, quam gravis casus in servitium ex regno foret,
multis magnisque praesidiis nequiquam perditis de integro bel-
10 lum sumit. Et Romae senatus de provinciis consultus Numi-
diam Metello decreverat.

63 Per idem tempus Uticae forte C. Mario per hostias dis sup-
plicanti magna atque mirabilia portendi haruspex dixerat: pro-
inde, quae animo agitabat, fretus dis ageret, fortunam quam
2 saepissume experiretur, cuncta prospere eventura. At illum iam
antea consulatus ingens cupido exagitabat, ad quem capiundum

praeter vetustatem familiae alia omnia abunde erant, industria, probitas, militiae magna scientia, animus belli ingens, domi modicus, lubidinis et divitiarum victor, tantum modo gloriae avidus.

Sed is natus et omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, ubi primum 3
aetas militiae patiens fuit, stipendiis faciundis, non Graeca facundia neque urbanis munditiis sese exercuit: ita inter artis bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit. Ergo ubi primum tribunatum militarem a populo petit, plerisque faciem eius ignorantibus facile notus per omnis tribus declaratur. Deinde ab eo magis- 4
tratu alium, post alium sibi peperit, semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, ut ampliore, quam gerebat, dignus haberetur. Tamen is ad id locorum talis vir—nam postea ambitione prae- 5
ceps datus est—*consulatum* appetere non audebat. Etiam tum alios magistratus plebs, consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat. Novos nemo tam clarus neque tam egregiis factis 6
erat, quin indignus illo honore et is quasi pollutus haberetur.

Igitur ubi Marius haruspicis dicta eodem intendere videt, **64**
quo cupido animi hortabatur, ab Metello petundi gratia missionem rogat. Cui quamquam virtus, gloria atque alia optanda bonis superabant, tamen inerat contemptor animus et superbia, commune nobilitatis malum. Itaque primum commotus insolita 2
re mirari eius consilium et quasi per amicitiam monere, ne tam prava inciperet neu super fortunam animum gereret: non omnia omnibus cupiunda esse, debere illi res suas satis placere: postremo caveret id petere a populo Romano, quod illi iure negaretur. Postquam haec atque alia talia dixit neque animus Mari flectitur, respondit, ubi primum potuisset per negotia publica, fac- 3
turum sese quae peteret. Ac postea saepius eadem postulanti 4
fertur dixisse, ne festinaret abire: satis mature illum cum filio suo consulatum petiturum. Is eo tempore contubernio patris ibidem militabat, annos natus circiter viginti. Quae res Marium cum pro honore, quem affectabat, tum contra Metellum vehementer accenderat. Ita cupidine atque ira, pessumis consul- 5
toribus, grassari, neque facto ullo neque dicto abstinere, quod modo ambitiosum foret, milites, quibus in hibernis praeerat, laxiore imperio quam antea habere, apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticae erat, criminose simul et magnifice de

bello loqui: dimidia pars exercitus si sibi permitteretur, paucis diebus Iugurtham in catenis habiturum; ab imperatore consulto trahi, quod homo inanis et regiae superbiae imperio nimis gau-
6 deret. Quae omnia illis eo firmiora videbantur, quia diuturnitate belli res familiaris corruperant, et animo cupienti nihil satis
65 festinatur. Erat praeterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam, nomine Gauda, Mastanabalis filius, Masinissae nepos, quem Micipsa testamento secundum heredem scripserat, morbis confectus
2 et ob eam causam mente paulum imminuta. Cui Metellus petenti, more regum ut sellam iuxta poneret, item postea custodiae causa turmam equitum Romanorum, utrumque negaverat: honorem, quod eorum more foret, quos populus Romanus reges appellavisset, praesidium, quod contumeliosum in eos foret, si
3 equites Romani satellites Numidae traderentur. Hunc Marius anxium aggreditur atque hortatur, ut contumeliarum in imperatorem cum suo auxilio poenas petat; hominem ob morbos animo parum valido secunda oratione extollit: illum regem, ingentem virum, Masinissae nepotem esse; si Iugurtha captus aut occisus foret, imperium Numidiae sine mora habiturum; id adeo mature
4 posse evenire, si ipse consul ad id bellum missus foret. Itaque et illum et equites Romanos, milites et negotiatores, alios ipse, plerosque pacis spes impellit, uti Romam ad suos necessarios aspere in Metellum de bello scribant, Marium imperatorem poscant. Sic illi a multis mortalibus honestissuma suffragatione
5 consulatus petebatur; simul ea tempestate plebs nobilitate fusa per legem Mamiliam novos extollebat. Ita Mario cuncta procedere.

66 Interim Iugurtha, postquam omissa deditione bellum incipit, cum magna cura parare omnia, festinare: cogere exercitum, civitates, quae ab se defecerant, formidine aut ostentando praemia affectare; communire suos locos, arma, tela aliaque, quae spe pacis amiserat, reficere aut commercari; servitia Romanorum allicere, et eos ipsos, qui in praesidiis erant, pecunia temptare: prorsus nihil intactum neque quietum pati, cuncta agitare. Igitur
2 Vagenses, quo Metellus initio Iugurtha pacificante praesidium imposuerat, fatigati regis suppliciis neque antea voluntate alienati, principes civitatis inter se coniurant: nam volgus, uti plerum-

que solet, et maxume Numidarum, ingenio mobili, seditiosum atque discordiosum erat, cupidum novarum rerum, quieti et otio advorsum. Dein compositis inter se rebus in diem tertium constituunt, quod is festus celebratusque per omnem Africam ludum et lasciviam magis quam formidinem ostentabat. Sed ubi 3
tempus fuit, centuriones tribunosque militaris et ipsum praefectum oppidi, T. Turpilium Silanum, alius alium domos suas invitant, eos omnis praeter Turpilium inter epulas obtruncant; postea milites palantis, inermos, quippe in tali die, ac sine imperio, aggrediuntur. Idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobili- 4
tate, alii studio talium rerum incitati, quis acta consiliumque ignorantibus tumultus ipse et res novae satis placebant. Romani **67**
milites, improviso metu incerti ignarique, quid potissumum facerent, trepidare: arce oppidi, ubi signa et scuta erant, praesidium hostium, portae ante clausae fuga prohibebant; ad hoc mulieres puerique pro tectis aedificiorum saxa et alia, quae locus praebebat, certatim mittere. Ita neque caveri anceps malum, ne- 2
que a fortissumis infirmissumo generi resisti posse: iuxta boni malique, strenui et imbelles inulti obtruncari. In ea tanta as- 3
peritate saevissumis Numidis et oppido undique clauso Turpilius praefectus unus ex omnibus Italicis intactus profugit. Id misericordiane hospitis an pactione aut casu ita evenerit, parum comperimus, nisi, quia illi in tanto malo turpis vita integra fama potior fuit, improbus intestabilisque videtur.

Metellus, postquam de rebus Vagae actis comperit, paulisper **68**
maestus ex conspectu abit; deinde, ubi ira et aegritudo permixta sunt, cum maxuma cura ultum ire iniurias festinat. Legionem, cum qua hiemabat, et quam plurumos potest Nu- 2
midas equites pariter cum occasu solis expeditos educit et postera die circiter hora tertia pervenit in quandam planitiem, locis paulo superioribus circumventam. Ibi milites fessos itineris 3
magnitudine et iam abnuentis omnia docet oppidum Vagam non amplius mille passuum abesse: decere illos reliquom laborem aequo animo pati, dum pro civibus suis, viris fortissumis atque miserrumis, poenas caperent; praeterea praedam benigne ostentat. Sic animis eorum arrectis equites in primo late, pe- 4
dites quam artissume ire et signa occultare iubet. Vagenses ubi **69**

animum advortere ad se vorsum exercitum pergere, primo, uti erat res, Metellum esse rati portas clausere, deinde, ubi neque agros vastari et eos, qui primi aderant, Numidas equites vident, rursum Iugurtham arbitrati cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt.
2 Equites peditesque repente signo dato alii volgum effusum oppido caedere, alii ad portas festinare, pars turris capere: ira
3 atque praedae spes amplius quam lassitudo posse. Ita Vagenses biduom modo ex perfidia laetati: civitas magna et opulens
4 cuncta poenae aut praedae fuit. Turpilius, quem praefectum oppidi unum ex omnibus profugisse supra ostendimus, iussus a Metello causam dicere, postquam sese parum expurgat, condemnatus verberatusque capite poenas solvit: nam is civis e Latio erat.

70 Per idem tempus Bomilcar, cuius impulsu Iugurtha deditionem, quam metu deseruit, inceperat, suspectus regi et ipse eum suspiciens novas res cupere, ad perniciem eius dolum quaerere,
2 die noctuque fatigare animum; denique omnia temptando socium sibi adiungit Nabdalsam, hominem nobilem, magnis opibus, clarum acceptumque popularibus suis, qui plerumque seorsum ab rege exercitum ductare et omnis res exsequi solitus erat, quae Iugurthae fesso aut maioribus adstricto superaverant: ex
3 quo illi gloria opesque inventae. Igitur utriusque consilio dies insidiis statuitur; cetera, uti res posceret, ex tempore parari
4 placuit. Nabdalsa ad exercitum profectus, quem inter hiberna Romanorum iussus habebat, ne ager inultis hostibus vastaretur.
5 Is postquam magnitudine facinoris perculsus ad tempus non venit metusque rem impediebat, Bomilcar, simul cupidus incepta patrandi et timore soci anxius, ne omisso vetere consilio novom quaereret, litteras ad eum per homines fidelis mittit, in quis mollitiam socordiamque viri accusare, testari deos, per quos iuravisset, monere, ne praemia Metelli in pestem convorteret: Iugurthae exitium adesse; ceterum suane an Metelli virtute periret, id modo agitari: proinde reputaret cum animo suo, praemia
71 an cruciatum mallet. Sed cum eae litterae allatae, forte Nab-
2 dalsa exercito corpore fessus in lecto quiescebat, ubi cognitis Bomilcaris verbis primo cura, deinde, uti aegrum animum solet,
3 somnus cepit. Erat ei Numida quidam negotiorum curator,

fidus acceptusque et omnium consiliorum nisi novissumi particeps. Qui postquam allatas litteras audivit et ex consuetudine ratus opera aut ingenio suo opus esse in tabernaculum introiit, dormiente illo epistulam super caput in pulvino temere positam sumit ac perlegit, dein propere cognitis insidiis ad regem pergit. Nabdalsa paulo post experrectus, ubi neque epistulam repperit et rem omnem, uti acta erat, cognovit, primo indicem persequi conatus, postquam id frustra fuit, Iugurtham placandi gratia accedit: dicit, quae ipse paravisset facere, perfidia clientis sui praeventa; lacrumans obtestatur per amicitiam perque sua antea fideliter acta, ne super tali scelere suspectum sese haberet. Ad **72** ea rex aliter, atque animo gerebat, placide respondit. Bomilcare aliisque multis, quos socios insidiarum cognoverat, interfectis iram oppresserat, ne qua ex eo negotio seditio oreretur. Neque post id locorum Iugurthae dies aut nox ulla quieta fuit: neque loco neque mortali cuiquam aut tempori satis credere, civis hostisque iuxta metuere, circumspectare omnia et omni strepitu pavescere, alio atque alio loco, saepe contra decus regium, noctu requiescere, interdum somno excitus arreptis armis tumultum facere: ita formidine quasi vecordia exagitari.

Igitur Metellus, ubi de casu Bomilcaris et indicio patefacto **73** ex perfugis cognovit, rursus tamquam ad integrum bellum cuncta parat festinatque. Marium, fatigantem de profectione, simul et invitum et offensum sibi parum idoneum ratus, domum dimittit.

Et Romae plebes litteris, quae de Metello ac Mario missae erant, cognitis volenti animo de ambobus acceperant. Imperatori nobilitas, quae antea decori fuit, invidiae esse: at illi alteri generis humilitas favorem addiderat. Ceterum in utroque magis studia partium quam bona aut mala sua moderata. Praeterea seditiosi magistratus volgum exagitare, Metellum omnibus contionibus capitis arcessere, Mari virtutem in maius celebrare. Denique plebes sic accensa, uti opifices agrestesque omnes, quorum res fidesque in manibus sitae erant, relictis operibus frequentarent Marium et sua necessaria post illius honorem ducerent. Ita perculsa nobilitate post multas tempestates novo homini consulatus mandatur: et postea populus a

tribuno plebis T. Manlio Mancino rogatus, quem vellet cum Iugurtha bellum gerere, frequens Marium iussit. Sed paulo . . . . . decreverat: ea res frustra fuit.

74 Eodem tempore Iugurtha amissis amicis, quorum plerosque ipse necaverat, ceteri formidine pars ad Romanos, alii ad regem Bocchum profugerant, cum neque bellum geri sine administris posset et novorum fidem in tanta perfidia veterum experiri periculosum duceret, varius incertusque agitabat. Neque illi res neque consilium aut quisquam hominum satis placebat: itinera praefectosque in dies mutare, modo advorsum hostis, interdum in solitudines pergere, saepe in fuga ac post paulo in armis spem habere, dubitare, virtuti an fidei popularium minus crederet: ita, quocumque intenderat, res advorsae erant. 2 Sed inter eas moras repente sese Metellus cum exercitu ostendit; Numidae ab Iugurtha pro tempore parati instructique, dein 3 proelium incipitur. Qua in parte rex pugnae adfuit, ibi aliquamdiu certatum, ceteri eius omnes milites primo congressu pulsi fugatique. Romani signorum et armorum aliquanto numero, hostium paucorum potiti: nam ferme Numidis in omnibus proeliis magis pedes quam arma tuta sunt.

75 Ea fuga Iugurtha impensius modo rebus suis diffidens cum perfugis et parte equitatus in solitudines, dein Thalam pervenit, in oppidum magnum atque opulentum, ubi plerique thesauri 2 filiorumque eius multus pueritiae cultus erat. Quae postquam Metello comperta sunt, quamquam inter Thalam flumenque proxumum in spatio milium quinquaginta loca arida atque vasta esse cognoverat, tamen spe patrandi belli, si eius oppidi potitus foret, omnis asperitates supervadere ac naturam etiam vincere 3 aggreditur. Igitur omnia iumenta sarcinis levari iubet, nisi 4 frumento dierum decem, ceterum utris modo et alia aquae idonea portari; praeterea conquirit ex agris quam plurumum potest domiti pecoris: eo imponit vasa cuiusque modi, sed pleraque 5 lignea, collecta ex tuguriis Numidarum; ad hoc finitumis imperat, qui se post regis fugam Metello dederant, quam plurumum quisque aquae portaret, diem locumque, ubi praesto fuerint, praedicit; ipse ex flumine, quam proxumam oppido aquam esse supra diximus, iumenta onerat: eo modo instructus ad

Thalam proficiscitur. Deinde ubi ad id loci ventum, quo Numidis praeceperat, et castra posita munitaque sunt, tanta repente caelo missa vis aquae dicitur, ut ea modo exercitui satis superque foret. Praeterea commeatus spe amplior, quia Numidae, sicuti plerique in nova deditione, officia intenderant. Ceterum milites religione pluvia magis usi, eaque res multum animis eorum addidit: nam rati sese dis immortalibus curae esse. Deinde postero die contra opinionem Iugurthae ad Thalam perveniunt. Oppidani, qui se locorum asperitate munitos credid- erant, magna atque insolita re perculsi, nihilo segnius bellum parare; idem nostri facere. Sed rex nihil iam infectum Metello **76** credens, quippe qui omnia, arma, tela, locos, tempora, denique naturam ipsam ceteris imperitantem industria vicerat, cum liberis et magna parte pecuniae ex oppido noctu profugit, neque postea in ullo loco amplius uno die aut una nocte moratus simulabat sese negoti gratia properare; ceterum proditionem timebat, quam vitare posse celeritate putabat; nam talia consilia per otium et ex opportunitate capi. At Metellus, ubi oppidanos proelio intentos, simul oppidum et operibus et loco munitum videt, vallo fossaque moenia circumvenit. Dein duobus locis ex copia maxume idoneis vineas agere, aggerem iacere et super aggerem impositis turribus opus et administros tutari. Contra haec oppidani festinare, parare, prorsus ab utrisque nihil reliquom fieri. Denique Romani, multo ante labore proeliisque fatigati, post dies quadraginta, quam eo ventum erat, oppido modo potiti; praeda omnis ab perfugis corrupta. Ei postquam murum arietibus feriri resque suas adflictas vident, aurum atque argentum et alia, quae prima ducuntur, domum regiam comportant: ibi vino et epulis onerati illaque et domum et semet igni corrumpunt, et quas victi ab hostibus poenas metuerant, eas ipsi volentes pependere.

Sed pariter cum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepti ad Me- **77** tellum venerant orantes, uti praesidium praefectumque eo mitteret: Hamilcarem quendam, hominem nobilem, factiosum, novis rebus studere, advorsum quem neque imperia magistratuum neque leges valerent: ni id festinaret, in summo periculo suam salutem, illorum socios fore. Nam Leptitani iam inde a prin-

cipio belli Iugurthini ad Bestiam consulem et postea Romam
3 miserant amicitiam societatemque rogatum. Deinde, ubi ea impetrata, semper boni fidelesque mansere et cuncta a Bestia, Albino Metelloque imperata navi fecerant. Itaque ab imperatore
4 facile, quae petebant, adepti. Emissae eo cohortes Ligurum quattuor et C. Annius praefectus.

78 Id oppidum ab Sidoniis conditum est, quos accepimus profugos ob discordias civilis navibus in eos locos venisse, ceterum
2 situm inter duas Syrtis, quibus nomen ex re inditum. Nam duo sunt sinus prope in extrema Africa, impares magnitudine, pari natura; quorum proxuma terrae praealta sunt, cetera, uti fors
3 tulit, alta alia, alia in tempestate vadosa. Nam ubi mare magnum esse et saevire ventis coepit, limum harenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt: ita facies locorum cum ventis simul
4 mutatur. Syrtes ab tractu nominatae. Eius civitatis lingua modo convorsa conubio Numidarum, legum cultusque pleraque Sidonica; quae eo facilius retinebant, quod procul ab imperio
5 regis aetatem agebant. Inter illos et frequentem Numidiam multi vastique loci erant.

79 Sed quoniam in eas regiones per Leptitanorum negotia venimus, non indignum videtur egregium atque mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginiensium memorare: eam rem nos locus ad-
2 monuit. Qua tempestate Carthaginienses pleraque Africa imperitabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni atque opulenti fuere.
3 Ager in medio harenosus, una specie: neque flumen neque mons erat, qui finis eorum discerneret. Quae res eos in magno diu-
4 turnoque bello inter se habuit. Postquam utrimque legiones, item classes saepe fusae fugataeque, et alteri alteros aliquantum attriverant, veriti, ne mox victos victoresque defessos alius aggrederetur, per indutias sponsionem faciunt, uti certo die legati domo proficiscerentur; quo in loco inter se obvii fuissent, is
5 communis utriusque populi finis haberetur. Igitur Carthagine duo fratres missi, quibus nomen Philaenis erat, maturavere iter pergere; Cyrenenses tardius iere. Id socordiane an casu accid-
6 erit, parum cognovi. Ceterum solet in illis locis tempestas haud secus atque in mari retinere. Nam ubi per loca aequalia et nuda gignentium ventus coortus harenam humo excitavit, ea

magna vi agitata ora oculosque implere solet, ita prospectu impedito morari iter. Postquam Cyrenenses aliquanto posteriores 7
se esse vident et ob rem corruptam domi poenas metuunt, criminari Carthaginiensis ante tempus domo digressos, conturbare rem, denique omnia malle quam victi abire. Sed cum Poeni 8
aliam condicionem, tantum modo aequam, peterent, Graeci optionem Carthaginiensium faciunt, ut vel illi, quos finis populo suo peterent, ibi vivi obruerentur, vel eadem condicione sese, quem in locum vellent, processuros. Philaeni condicione pro- 9
bata seque vitamque suam rei publicae condonavere: ita vivi obruti. Carthaginienses in eo loco Philaenis fratribus aras con- 10
secravere, aliique illis domi honores instituti. Nunc ad rem redeo.

Iugurtha postquam amissa Thala nihil satis firmum contra **80**
Metellum putat, per magnas solitudines cum paucis profectus
pervenit ad Gaetulos, genus hominum ferum incultumque et eo
tempore ignarum nominis Romani. Eorum multitudinem in 2
unum cogit ac paulatim consuefacit ordines habere, signa sequi,
imperium observare, item alia militaria facere. Praeterea regis 3
Bocchi proxumos magnis muneribus et maioribus promissis ad
studium sui perducit, quis adiutoribus regem aggressus impellit,
uti advorsus Romanos bellum incipiat. Id ea gratia facilius 4
proniusque fuit, quod Bocchus initio huiusce belli legatos Romam miserat foedus et amicitiam petitum, quam rem opportun- 5
issumam incepto bello pauci impediverant, caeci avaritia, quis
omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Etiam antea 6
Iugurthae filia Bocchi nupserat. Verum ea necessitudo apud
Numidas Maurosque levis ducitur, quia singuli, pro opibus quisque, quam plurumas uxores, denas alii alii pluris habent, sed
reges eo amplius. Ita animus multitudine distrahitur: nulla pro 7
socia obtinet, pariter omnes viles sunt. Igitur in locum ambo- **81**
bus placitum exercitus conveniunt; ibi fide data et accepta Iugurtha Bocchi animum oratione accendit: Romanos iniustos,
profunda avaritia, communis omnium hostis esse; eandem illos
causam belli cum Boccho habere, quam secum et cum aliis gentibus, lubidinem imperitandi, quis omnia regna advorsa sint; tum
sese, paulo ante Carthaginiensis, item regem Persen, post uti

quisque opulentissumus videatur, ita Romanis hostem fore. Eis atque aliis talibus dictis ad Cirtam oppidum iter constituunt, quod ibi Metellus praedam captivosque et impedimenta loca-
3 verat. Ita Iugurtha ratus aut capta urbe operae pretium fore, aut, si dux Romanus auxilio suis venisset, proelio sese certaturos.
4 Nam callidus id modo festinabat, Bocchi pacem imminuere, ne moras agitando aliud quam bellum mallet.

82 Imperator postquam de regum societate cognovit, non temere, neque, uti saepe iam victo Iugurtha consueverat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit; ceterum haud procul ab Cirta castris munitis reges opperitur, melius esse ratus cognitis Mauris, quoniam is novos hostis accesserat, ex commodo pugnam facere.
2 Interim Roma per litteras certior fit provinciam Numidiam Mario datam; nam consulem factum ante acceperat. Quibus rebus supra bonum aut honestum perculsus neque lacrumas tenere neque moderari linguam: vir egregius in aliis artibus nimis
3 molliter aegritudinem pati. Quam rem alii in superbiam vortebant, alii bonum ingenium contumelia accensum esse, multi, quod iam parta victoria ex manibus eriperetur. Nobis satis cognitum est illum magis honore Mari quam iniuria sua excruciatum neque tam anxie laturum fuisse, si adempta provincia alii quam Mario traderetur.

83 Igitur eo dolore impeditus et quia stultitiae videbatur alienam rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit postulatum, ne sine causa hostis populo Romano fieret: habere tum magnam copiam societatis amicitiaeque coniungundae, quae potior bello esset, et quamquam opibus suis confideret, tamen non debere incerta pro certis mutare; omne bellum sumi facile, ceterum aegerrume desinere; non in eiusdem potestate initium eius et finem esse; incipere cuivis, etiam ignavo, licere, deponi, cum victores velint: proinde sibi regnoque suo consuleret, neu
2 florentis res suas cum Iugurthae perditis misceret. Ad ea rex satis placide verba facit: sese pacem cupere, sed Iugurthae fortunarum misereri; si eadem illi copia fieret, omnia conventura.
3 Rursus imperator contra postulata Bocchi nuntios mittit; ille probare partim, alia abnuere. Eo modo saepe ab utroque missis

remissisque nuntiis tempus procedere, et ex Metelli voluntate bellum intactum trahi.

84 At Marius, ut supra diximus, cupientissuma plebe consul factus, postquam ei provinciam Numidiam populus iussit, antea iam infestus nobilitati, tum vero multus atque ferox instare, singulos modo modo universos laedere, dictitare sese consulatum ex victis illis spolia cepisse, alia praeterea magnifica pro se et illis dolentia. Interim, quae bello opus erant, prima habere: **2** postulare legionibus supplementum, auxilia a populis et regibus sociisque arcessere, praeterea ex Latio fortissumum quemque, plerosque militiae, paucos fama cognitos accire, et ambiundo cogere homines emeritis stipendiis secum proficisci. Neque illi **3** senatus, quamquam advorsus erat, de ullo negotio abnuere audebat: ceterum supplementum etiam laetus decreverat, quia neque plebi militia volenti putabatur et Marius aut belli usum aut studia volgi amissurus. Sed ea res frustra sperata: tanta lubido cum Mario eundi plerosque invaserat. Sese quisque **4** praeda locupletem fore, victorem domum rediturum, alia huiusce modi animis trahebant, et eos non paulum oratione sua Marius arrexerat. Nam postquam omnibus, quae postulaverat, **5** decretis milites scribere volt, hortandi causa simul et nobilitatem, uti consueverat, exagitandi contionem populi advocavit. Deinde hoc modo disseruit:

85 "Scio ego, Quirites, plerosque non eisdem artibus imperium a vobis petere et, postquam adepti sunt, gerere: primo industrios, supplices, modicos esse, dein per ignaviam et superbiam aetatem agere. Sed mihi contra ea videtur: nam quo pluris est univorsa **2** res publica quam consulatus aut praetura, eo maiore cura illam administrari quam haec peti debere. Neque me fallit, quantum **3** cum maxumo beneficio vostro negoti sustineo. Bellum parare simul et aerario parcere, cogere ad militiam eos, quos nolis offendere, domi forisque omnia curare, et ea agere inter invidos, occursantis, factiosos opinione, Quirites, asperius est. Ad hoc, alii **4** si deliquere, vetus nobilitas, maiorum fortia facta, cognatorum et affinium opes, multae clientelae, omnia haec praesidio adsunt; mihi spes omnes in memet sitae, quas necesse est virtute et innocentia tutari: nam alia infirma sunt. Et illud intellego, Qui- **5**

rites, omnium ora in me convorsa esse, aequos bonosque favere —quippe mea bene facta rei publicae procedunt—nobilitatem
6 locum invadundi quaerere. Quo mihi acrius adnitundum est,
7 uti neque vos capiamini et illi frustra sint. Ita ad hoc aetatis a pueritia fui, uti omnis labores et pericula consueta habeam.
8 Quae ante vostra beneficia gratuito faciebam, ea uti accepta
9 mercede deseram, non est consilium, Quirites. Illis difficile est in potestatibus temperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos simulavere: mihi, qui omnem aetatem in optumis artibus egi, bene facere iam ex consuetudine in naturam vortit.
10 Bellum me gerere cum Iugurtha iussistis, quam rem nobilitas aegerrume tulit. Quaeso, reputate cum animis vostris, num id mutare melius sit, si quem ex illo globo nobilitatis ad hoc aut aliud tale negotium mittatis, hominem veteris prosapiae ac multarum imaginum et nullius stipendi: scilicet ut in tanta re ignarus omnium trepidet, festinet, sumat aliquem ex populo moni-
11 torem offici sui. Ita plerumque evenit, uti, quem vos imperare
12 iussistis, is imperatorem alium quaerat. Atque ego scio, Quirites, qui, postquam cónsules facti sunt, et acta maiorum et Graecorum militaria praecepta legere coeperint: praeposteri homines; nam gerere quam fieri tempore posterius, re atque usu
13 prius est. Comparate nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbia me hominem novom. Quae illi audire aut legere solent, eorum partem vidi, alia egomet gessi; quae illi litteris, ea ego militando
14 didici. Nunc vos existumate, facta an dicta pluris sint. Contemnunt novitatem meam, ego illorum ignaviam; mihi fortuna,
15 illis probra obiectantur. Quamquam ego naturam unam et communem omnium existumo, sed fortissumum quemque generosis-
16 sumum. Ac si iam ex patribus Albini aut Bestiae quaeri posset, mene an illos ex se gigni maluerint, quid responsuros creditis,
17 nisi sese liberos quam optumos voluisse? Quod si iure me despiciunt, faciant idem maioribus suis, quibus, uti mihi, ex virtute
18 nobilitas coepit. Invident honori meo: ergo invideant labori, innocentiae, periculis etiam meis, quoniam per haec illum cepi.
19 Verum homines corrupti superbia ita aetatem agunt, quasi vostros honores contemnant; ita hos petunt, quasi honeste vixerint.
20 Ne illi falsi sunt, qui divorsissumas res pariter exspectant, ig-

naviae voluptatem et praemia virtutis. Atque etiam, cum apud 21
vos aut in senatu verba faciunt, pleraque oratione maiores suos
extollunt: eorum fortia facta memorando clariores sese putant.
Quod contra est. Nam quanto illorum vita praeclarior, tanto 22
horum socordia flagitiosior. Et profecto ita se res habet: mai- 23
orum gloria posteris quasi lumen est, neque bona neque mala
eorum in occulto patitur. Huiusce rei ego inopiam fateor, Qui- 24
rites; verum, id quod multo praeclarius est, meamet facta mihi
dicere licet. Nunc videte, quam iniqui sint. Quod ex aliena 25
virtute sibi arrogant, id mihi ex mea non concedunt, scilicet quia
imagines non habeo, et quia mihi nova nobilitas est, quam certe
peperisse melius est quam acceptam corrupisse.

Equidem ego non ignoro, si iam mihi respondere velint, 26
abunde illis facundam et compositam orationem fore. Sed in
vostro maxumo beneficio cum omnibus locis me vosque male
dictis lacerent, non placuit reticere, ne quis modestiam in con-
scientiam duceret. Nam me quidem ex animi mei sententia 27
nulla oratio laedere potest: quippe vera necesse est bene praedi-
cent, falsa vita moresque mei superant. Sed quoniam vostra 28
consilia accusantur, qui mihi summum honorem et maxumum
negotium imposuistis, etiam atque etiam reputate, num eorum
paenitendum sit. Non possum fidei causa imagines neque 29
triumphos aut consulatus maiorum meorum ostentare, at, si res
postulet, hastas, vexillum, phaleras, alia militaria dona, prae-
terea cicatrices advorso corpore. Hae sunt meae imagines, haec 30
nobilitas, non hereditate relicta, ut illa illis, sed quae ego meis
plurumis laboribus et periculis quaesivi. Non sunt composita 31
verba mea; parvi id facio: ipsa se virtus satis ostendit; illis arti-
ficio opus est, ut turpia facta oratione tegant. Neque litteras 32
Graecas didici: parum placebat eas discere, quippe quae ad vir-
tutem doctoribus nihil profuerant. At illa multo optuma rei 33
publicae doctus sum: hostem ferire, praesidium agitare, nihil
metuere nisi turpem famam, hiemem et aestatem iuxta pati,
humi requiescere, eodem tempore inopiam et laborem tolerare.
His ego praeceptis milites hortabor neque illos arte colam, me 34
opulenter, neque gloriam meam, laborem illorum faciam. Hoc 35
est utile, hoc civile imperium. Namque cum tute per mollitiem

agas, exercitum supplicio cogere, id est dominum, non imperatorem esse. Haec atque talia maiores vostri faciundo seque remque publicam celebravere. Quis nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos illorum aemulos contemnit et omnis honores non ex merito, sed quasi debitos a vobis repetit. Ceterum homines superbissumi procul errant. Maiores eorum omnia, quae licebat, illis reliquere, divitias, imagines, memoriam sui praeclaram: virtutem non reliquere, neque poterant: ea sola neque datur dono neque accipitur. Sordidum me et incultis moribus aiunt, quia parum scite convivium exorno, neque histrionem ullum, neque pluris preti coquom quam vilicum habeo. Quae mihi lubet confiteri, Quirites. Nam ex parente meo et ex aliis sanctis viris ita accepi: munditias mulieribus, viris laborem convenire, omnibusque bonis oportere plus gloriae quam divitiarum esse: arma, non supellectilem decori esse. Quin ergo quod iuvat, quod carum aestumant, id semper faciant: ament, potent; ubi adulescentiam habuere, ibi senectutem agant, in conviviis, dediti ventri et turpissumae parti corporis; sudorem, pulverem et alia talia relinquant nobis, quibus illa epulis iucundiora sunt. Verum non ita est. Nam ubi se flagitiis dedecoravere turpissumi viri, bonorum praemia ereptum eunt. Ita iniustissume luxuria et ignavia, pessumae artes, illis, qui coluere eas, nihil officiunt, rei publicae innoxiae cladi sunt.

Nunc quoniam illis, quantum mei mores, non illorum flagitia poscebant, respondi, pauca de re publica loquar. Primum omnium de Numidia bonum habete animum, Quirites. Nam quae ad hoc tempus Iugurtham tutata sunt, omnia removistis, avaritiam, imperitiam atque superbiam. Deinde exercitus ibi est locorum sciens, sed mehercule magis strenuus quam felix. Nam magna pars eius avaritia aut temeritate ducum attrita est. Quam ob rem vos, quibus militaris aetas est, adnitimini mecum et capessite rem publicam neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum aut imperatorum superbia metus ceperit. Egomet in agmine aut in proelio consultor idem et socius periculi vobiscum adero, meque vosque in omnibus rebus iuxta geram. Et profecto dis iuvantibus omnia matura sunt, victoria, praeda, laus. Quae si dubia aut procul essent, tamen omnis bonos rei publicae

subvenire decebat. Etenim nemo ignavia immortalis factus est, 49
neque quisquam parens liberis, uti aeterni forent, optavit, magis
uti boni honestique vitam exigerent. Plura dicerem, Quirites, 50
si timidis virtutem verba adderent: nam strenuis abunde dictum
puto.'

Huiusce modi oratione habita Marius, postquam plebis ani- **86**
mos arrectos videt, propere commeatu, stipendio, armis, aliisque
utilibus navis onerat; cum his A. Manlium legatum proficisci
iubet. Ipse interea milites scribere, non more maiorum neque 2
ex classibus, sed uti cuiusque lubido erat, capite censos plerosque.
Id factum alii inopia bonorum, alii per ambitionem consulis 3
memorabant, quod ab eo genere celebratus auctusque erat, et
homini potentiam quaerenti egentissumus quisque opportunissu-
mus, cui neque sua cara, quippe quae nulla sunt, et omnia cum
pretio honesta videntur.

Igitur Marius cum aliquanto maiore numero, quam decretum 4
erat, in Africam profectus paucis diebus Uticam advehitur. Ex- 5
ercitus ei traditur a P. Rutilio legato: nam Metellus conspec-
tum Mari fugerat, ne videret ea, quae audita animus tolerare
nequiverat.

Sed consul expletis legionibus cohortibusque auxiliariis in **87**
agrum fertilem et praeda onustum proficiscitur, omnia ibi capta
militibus donat, dein castella et oppida natura et viris parum
munita aggreditur, proelia multa, ceterum levia, alia aliis locis
facere. Interim novi milites sine metu pugnae adesse, videre fu- 2
gientis capi aut occidi, fortissumum quemque tutissumum, armis
libertatem, patriam parentesque et alia omnia tegi, gloriam atque
divitias quaeri. Sic brevi spatio novi veteresque coaluere et 3
virtus omnium aequalis facta.

At reges, ubi de adventu Mari cognoverunt, divorsi in locos 4
difficilis abeunt. Ita Iugurthae placuerat speranti mox effusos
hostis invadi posse, Romanos, sicuti plerosque, remoto metu
laxius licentiusque futuros.

Metellus interea Romam profectus contra spem suam laetis- **88**
sumis animis accipitur, plebi patribusque, postquam invidia de-
cesserat, iuxta carus.

Sed Marius impigre prudenterque suorum et hostium res 2

pariter attendere, cognoscere, quid boni utrisque aut contra esset, explorare itinera regum, consilia et insidias eorum antevenire,
3 nihil apud se remissum neque apud illos tutum pati. Itaque et Gaetulos et Iugurtham ex sociis nostris praedas agentis saepe aggressus in itinere fuderat, ipsumque regem haud procul
4 ab oppido Cirta armis exuerat. Quae postquam gloriosa modo neque belli patrandi cognovit, statuit urbis, quae viris aut loco pro hostibus et advorsum se opportunissumae erant, singulas circumvenire: ita Iugurtham aut praesidiis nudatum, si ea pateretur, aut proelio certaturum. Nam Bocchus nuntios ad eum
6 saepe miserat, velle populi Romani amicitiam: ne quid ab se hostile timeret. Id simulaveritne, quo improvisus gravior accideret, an mobilitate ingeni pacem atque bellum mutare soli-
89 tus, parum exploratum est. Sed consul, uti statuerat, oppida castellaque munita adire, partim vi, alia metu aut praemia os-
2 tentando avortere ab hostibus. Ac primo mediocria gerebat, existumans Iugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus venturum.
3 Sed ubi illum procul abesse et aliis negotiis intentum accepit, maiora et magis aspera aggredi tempus visum est.

4 Erat inter ingentis solitudines oppidum magnum atque valens, nomine Capsa, cuius conditor Hercules Libys memorabatur. Eius cives apud Iugurtham immunes, levi imperio et ob ea fidelissumi habebantur, muniti advorsum hostis non moenibus modo et armis atque viris, verum etiam multo magis locorum
5 asperitate. Nam praeter oppido propinqua alia omnia vasta, inculta, egentia aquae, infesta serpentibus, quarum vis, sicuti omnium ferarum, inopia cibi acrior; ad hoc natura serpentium,
6 ipsa perniciosa, siti magis quam alia re accenditur. Eius potiundi Marium maxuma cupido invaserat, cum propter usum belli, tum quia res aspera videbatur et Metellus oppidum Thalam magna gloria ceperat, haud dissimiliter situm munitumque, nisi quod apud Thalam non longe a moenibus aliquot fontes erant, Capsenses una modo atque ea intra oppidum iugi aqua, cetera
7 pluvia utebantur. Id ibique et in omni Africa, quae procul a mari incultius agebat, eo facilius tolerabatur, quia Numidae plerumque lacte et ferina carne vescebantur et neque salem neque alia irritamenta gulae quaerebant: cibus illis advorsus famem

atque sitim, non libidini neque luxuriae erat. Igitur consul **90**
omnibus exploratis, credo dis fretus — nam contra tantas difficultates consilio satis providere non poterat: quippe etiam frumenti inopia temptabatur, quia Numidae pabulo pecoris magis quam arvo student et, quodcumque natum fuerat, iussu regis in loca munita contulerant, ager autem aridus et frugum vacuos ea tempestate: nam aestatis extremum erat — tamen pro rei
copia satis providenter exornat: pecus omne, quod superioribus 2
diebus praedae fuerat, equitibus auxiliariis agundum attribuit, A. Manlium legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Laris, ubi stipendium et commeatum locaverat, ire iubet, dicitque se praedabundum post paucos dies eodem venturum. Sic incepto suo 3
occultato pergit ad flumen Tanain. Ceterum in itinere cotidie **91**
pecus exercitui per centurias, item turmas aequaliter distribuerat et, ex coriis utres uti fierent, curabat; simul inopiam frumenti lenire et ignaris omnibus parare, quae mox usui forent; denique sexto die, cum ad flumen ventum est, maxuma vis utrium effecta.
Ibi castris levi munimento positis milites cibum capere atque, uti 2
simul cum occasu solis egrederentur, paratos esse iubet; omnibus sarcinis abiectis aqua modo seque et iumenta onerare. Dein post- 3
quam tempus visum, castris egreditur noctemque totam itinere facto consedit; idem proxuma facit; dein tertia multo ante lucis adventum pervenit in locum tumulosum, ab Capsa non amplius duum milium intervallo, ibique quam occultissume potest cum
omnibus copiis opperitur. Sed ubi dies coepit et Numidae nihil 4
hostile metuentes multi oppido egressi, repente omnem equitatum et cum eis velocissumos pedites cursu tendere ad Capsam et portas obsidere iubet: deinde ipse intentus propere sequi neque milites praedari sinere. Quae postquam oppidani cognovere, res 5
trepidae, metus ingens, malum improvisum, ad hoc pars civium extra moenia in hostium potestate coegere, uti deditionem facerent. Ceterum oppidum incensum, Numidae puberes interfecti, 6
alii omnes venum dati: praeda militibus divisa. Id facinus con- 7
tra ius belli non avaritia neque scelere consulis admissum, sed quia locus Iugurthae opportunus, nobis aditu difficilis, genus hominum mobile, infidum, ante neque beneficio neque metu coercitum.

92 Postquam tantam rem Marius sine ullo suorum incommodo *peregit,* magnus et clarus antea, maior atque clarior haberi coepit.
2 Omnia non bene consulta in virtutem trahebantur: milites, modesto imperio habiti simul et locupletes, ad caelum ferre, Numidae magis quam mortalem timere, postremo omnes, socii atque hostes, credere illi aut mentem divinam esse aut deorum nutu cuncta portendi.
3 Sed consul, ubi ea res bene evenit, ad alia oppida pergit, pauca repugnantibus Numidis capit, plura, *deserta* propter Capsensium miserias, igni corrumpit: luctu atque caede omnia com-
4 plentur. Denique multis locis potitus, ac plerisque exercitu incruento, aliam rem aggreditur, non eadem asperitate qua Capsensium, ceterum haud secus difficilem.
5 Namque haud longe a flumine Muluccha, quod Iugurthae Bocchique regnum diiungebat, erat inter ceteram planitiem mons saxeus, mediocri castello satis patens, in immensum editus, uno perangusto aditu relicto: nam omnis natura velut opere atque
6 consulto praeceps. Quem locum Marius, quod ibi regis thesauri erant, summa vi capere intendit. Sed ea res forte quam consilio
7 melius gesta. Nam castello virorum atque armorum satis et magna vis frumenti et fons aquae; aggeribus turribusque et altis machinationibus locus importunus, iter castellanorum angustum
8 admodum, utrimque praecisum. Vineae cum ingenti periculo frustra agebantur; nam cum eae paulo processerant, igni aut lapi-
9 dibus corrumpebantur; milites neque pro opere consistere propter iniquitatem loci, neque inter vineas sine periculo administrare:
93 optumus quisque cadere aut sauciari, ceteris metus augeri. At Marius multis diebus et laboribus consumptis anxius trahere cum animo suo, omitteretne inceptum, quoniam frustra erat, an for-
2 tunam opperiretur, qua saepe prospere usus fuerat. Quae cum multos dies noctisque aestuans agitaret, forte quidam Ligus, ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius, castris aquatum egressus haud procul ab latere castelli, quod avorsum proeliantibus erat, animum advortit inter saxa repentis cocleas; quarum cum unam atque alteram, dein plures peteret, studio legundi paulatim prope
3 ad summum montis egressus est. Ubi postquam solitudinem intellexit, more ingeni humani cupido difficilia faciundi animum ad-

orta. Et forte in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter saxa, paulum modo prona, deinde inflexa atque aucta in altitudinem, quo cuncta gignentium natura fert; cuius ramis modo, modo eminentibus saxis nisus Ligus in castelli planitiem pervenit, quod cuncti Numidae intenti proeliantibus aderant. Exploratis omnibus, quae mox usui fore ducebat, eadem regreditur, non temere, uti ascenderat, sed temptans omnia et circumspiciens. Itaque Marium propere adit, acta edocet, hortatur, ab ea parte, qua ipse ascenderat, castellum temptet; pollicetur sese itineris periculique ducem. Marius cum Ligure promissa eius cognitum ex praesentibus misit, quorum uti cuiusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem aut facilem nuntiavere; consulis animus tamen paulum arrectus. Itaque ex copia tubicinum et cornicinum numero quinque quam velocissumos delegit, et cum eis praesidio qui forent, quattuor centuriones, omnisque Liguri parere iubet, et ei negotio proxumum diem constituit. Sed ubi ex praecepto tempus visum, paratis compositisque omnibus ad locum pergit. Ceterum illi, qui e centuriis erant, praedocti ab duce arma ornatumque mutaverant, capite atque pedibus nudis, uti prospectus nisusque per saxa facilius foret: super terga gladii et scuta, verum ea Numidica ex coriis, ponderis gratia simul et offensa quo levius streperent. Igitur praegrediens Ligus saxa et, si quae vetustae radices eminebant, laqueis vinciebat, quibus allevati milites facilius escenderent, interdum timidos insolentia itineris levare manu; ubi paulo asperior ascensus erat, singulos prae se inermos mittere, deinde ipse cum illorum armis sequi; quae dubia nisui videbantur, potissumus temptare, ac saepius eadem ascendens descendensque, dein statim digrediens, ceteris audaciam addere. Igitur diu multumque fatigati tandem in castellum perveniunt, desertum ab ea parte, quod omnes, sicut aliis diebus, advorsum hostis aderant. Marius ubi ex nuntiis, quae Ligus egerat, cognovit, quamquam toto die intentos proelio Numidas habuerat, tum vero cohortatus milites et ipse extra vineas egressus, testudine acta succedere et simul hostem tormentis sagittariisque et funditoribus eminus terrere. At Numidae saepe antea vineis Romanorum subvorsis, item incensis non castelli moenibus sese tutabantur, sed pro muro dies noctisque agitare, male dicere Romanis

4 5 6 7 8 **94** 2 3 4

ac Mario vecordiam obiectare, militibus nostris Iugurthae ser-
5 vitium minari, secundis rebus feroces esse. Interim omnibus,
Romanis hostibusque, proelio intentis, magna utrimque vi pro
gloria atque imperio his, illis pro salute certantibus, repente a
tergo signa canere: ac primo mulieres et pueri, qui visum pro-
cesserant, fugere, deinde uti quisque muro proxumus erat, post-
6 remo cuncti, armati inermesque. Quod ubi accidit, eo acrius
Romani instare, fundere ac plerosque tantum modo sauciare,
dein super occisorum corpora vadere, avidi gloriae certantes mur-
7 um petere, neque quemquam omnium praeda morari. Sic forte
correcta Mari temeritas gloriam ex culpa invenit.

95 Ceterum dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla quaestor cum magno
equitatu in castra venit, quos uti ex Latio et a sociis cogeret
2 Romae relictus erat. Sed quoniam nos tanti viri res admonuit,
idoneum visum est de natura cultuque eius paucis dicere: neque
enim alio loco de Sullae rebus dicturi sumus et L. Sisenna, op-
time et diligentissume omnium, qui eas res dixere, persecutus,
parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur.

3 Igitur Sulla gentis patriciae nobilis fuit, familia prope iam
exstincta maiorum ignavia, litteris Graecis et Latinis iuxta atque
doctissume eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, sed glo-
riae cupidior; otio luxurioso esse, tamen ab negotiis numquam vo-
luptas remorata, nisi quod de uxore potuit honestius consuli; fa-
cundus, callidus et amicitia facilis, ad simulanda negotia altitudo
ingeni incredibilis; multarum rerum ac maxume pecuniae largi-
4 tor. Atque illi, felicissumo omnium, ante civilem victoriam num-
quam super industriam fortuna fuit, multique dubitavere, for-
tior an felicior esset: nam postea quae fecerit, incertum habeo,
pudeat an pigeat magis disserere.

96 Igitur Sulla, uti supra dictum est, postquam in Africam
atque in castra Mari cum equitatu venit, rudis antea et ignarus
belli, sollertissumus omnium in paucis tempestatibus factus est.
2 Ad hoc milites benigne appellare, multis rogantibus, aliis per se
ipse dare beneficia, invitus accipere, sed ea properantius quam
aes mutuum reddere, ipse ab nullo repetere, magis id laborare,
ut illi quam plurumi deberent; ioca atque seria cum humillumis
3 agere; in operibus, in agmine atque ad vigilias multus adesse,

neque interim, quod prava ambitio solet, consulis aut cuiusquam boni famam laedere: tantum modo neque consilio neque manu priorem alium pati, plerosque antevenire. Quibus rebus et artibus brevi Mario militibusque carissumus factus. 4

97 At Iugurtha, postquam oppidum Capsam aliosque locos munitos et sibi utilis, simul et magnam pecuniam amiserat, ad Bocchum nuntios misit, quam primum in Numidiam copias adduceret: proeli faciundi tempus adesse. Quem ubi cunctari accepit 2 et dubium belli atque pacis rationes trahere, rursus, uti antea, proxumos eius donis corrupit, ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiae partem tertiam, si aut Romani Africa expulsi, aut integris suis finibus bellum compositum foret. Eo praemio illectus Bocchus cum magna multitudine Iugurtham accedit. 3

Ita amborum exercitu coniuncto Marium, iam in hiberna proficiscentem, vix decuma parte die reliqua invadunt, rati noctem, quae iam aderat, et victis sibi munimento fore et, si vicissent, nullo impedimento, quia locorum scientes erant, contra Romanis utrumque casum in tenebris difficiliorem fore. Igitur simul consul ex multis de hostium adventu cognovit et ipsi hostes aderant, et prius quam exercitus aut instrui aut sarcinas colligere, denique ante quam signum aut imperium ullum accipere quivit, equites Mauri atque Gaetuli, non acie neque ullo more proeli, sed catervatim, uti quosque fors conglobaverat, in nostros incurrunt; qui 5 omnes trepidi improviso metu ac tamen virtutis memores aut arma capiebant aut capientis alios ab hostibus defensabant; pars equos escendere, obviam ire hostibus: pugna latrocinio magis quam proelio similis fieri; sine signis sine ordinibus equites peditesque permixti cedere alius, alius obtruncari, multi contra advorsos acerrume pugnantes ab tergo circumveniri; neque virtus neque arma satis tegere, quia hostes numero plures et undique circumfusi erant: denique Romani, veteres notique et ob ea scientes belli, si quos locus aut casus coniunxerat, orbis facere atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti et instructi hostium vim sustentabant. Neque in eo tam aspero negotio Marius territus aut magis **98** quam antea demisso animo fuit, sed cum turma sua, quam ex fortissumis magis quam familiarissumis paraverat, vagari passim ac modo laborantibus suis succurrere, modo hostis, ubi confer-

tissumi obstiterant, invadere; manu consulere militibus, quoniam
2 imperare conturbatis omnibus non poterat. Iamque dies consumptus erat, cum tamen barbari nihil remittere atque, uti reges praeceperant, noctem pro se rati acrius instare. Tum Marius ex
3 copia rerum consilium trahit, atque, uti suis receptui locus esset, collis duos propinquos inter se occupat, quorum in uno, castris parum amplo, fons aquae magnus erat, alter usui opportunus, quia
4 magna parte editus et praeceps pauca munimenta quaerebat. Ceterum apud aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem agitare iubet; ipse paulatim dispersos milites neque minus hostibus conturbatis in unum contrahit, dein cunctos pleno gradu in collem subducit.
5 Ita reges loci difficultate coacti proelio deterrentur, neque tamen suos longius abire sinunt, sed utroque colle multitudine circum-
6 dato effusi consedere. Dein crebris ignibus factis plerumque noctis barbari more suo laetari, exsultare, strepere vocibus, et ipsi duces
7 feroces, quia non fugerant, pro victoribus agere. Sed ea cuncta Romanis ex tenebris et editioribus locis facilia visu magnoque
99 hortamento erant. Plurumum vero Marius imperitia hostium confirmatus, quam maxumum silentium haberi iubet, ne signa quidem, uti per vigilias solebant, canere; deinde, ubi lux adventabat, defessis iam hostibus ac paulo ante somno captis de improviso vigiles, item cohortium, turmarum, legionum tubicines simul omnis signa canere, milites clamorem tollere atque portis
2 erumpere iubet. Mauri atque Gaetuli, ignoto et horribili sonitu repente exciti, neque fugere neque arma capere, neque omnino
3 facere aut providere quicquam poterant: ita cunctos strepitu, clamore, nullo subveniente nostris instantibus, tumultu, formidine terror quasi vecordia ceperat. Denique omnes fusi fugatique: arma et signa militaria pleraque capta, pluresque eo proelio quam omnibus superioribus interempti. Nam somno et metu insolito impedita fuga.

100 Dein Marius, uti coeperat, in hiberna pergit; nam propter commeatum in oppidis maritumis agere decreverat. Neque tamen victoria socors aut insolens factus, sed pariter atque in conspectu
2 hostium quadrato agmine incedere; Sulla cum equitatu apud dextumos, in sinistra parte A. Manlius cum funditoribus et sagittariis, praeterea cohortis Ligurum curabat; primos et extremos

cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locaverat; perfugae, minume 3
cari et regionum scientissumi, hostium iter explorabant. Simul
consul quasi nullo imposito omnia providere, apud omnis adesse,
laudare et increpare merentis. Ipse armatus intentusque item 4
milites cogebat; neque secus atque iter facere, castra munire,
excubitum in portas cohortis ex legionibus, pro castris equites
auxiliarios mittere, praeterea alios super vallum in munimentis
locare, vigilias ipse circumire, non tam diffidentia futurum, quae
imperavisset, quam uti militibus exaequatus cum imperatore labor
volentibus esset. Et sane Marius illoque aliisque temporibus 5
Iugurthini belli pudore magis quam malo exercitum coercebat:
quod multi per ambitionem fieri aiebant, pars a pueritia consue-
tam duritiam et alia, quae ceteri miserias vocant, voluptati hab-
uisse; nisi tamen res publica pariter ac saevissumo imperio bene
atque decore gesta.

Igitur quarto denique die haud longe ab oppido Cirta undi- **101**
que simul speculatores citi sese ostendunt, qua re hostis adesse
intellegitur. Sed quia divorsi redeuntes alius ab alia parte atque 2
omnes idem significabant, consul incertus, quonam modo aciem
instrueret, nullo ordine commutato advorsum omnia paratus ibi-
dem opperitur. Ita Iugurtham spes frustrata, qui copias in quat- 3
tuor partis distribuerat ratus ex omnibus aeque aliquos ab tergo
hostibus venturos. Interim Sulla, quem primum hostes attige- 4
rant, cohortatus suos turmatim et quam maxume confertis equis
ipse aliique Mauros invadunt, ceteri in loco manentes ab iaculis
eminus emissis corpora tegere et, si qui in manus venerant, ob-
truncare. Dum eo modo equites proeliantur, Bocchus cum ped- 5
itibus, quos Volux, filius eius, adduxerat neque in priore pugna, in
itinere morati, adfuerant, postremam Romanorum aciem invad-
unt. Tum Marius apud primos agebat, quod ibi Iugurtha cum 6
plurumis erat. Dein Numida cognito Bocci adventu clam cum
paucis ad pedites convortit; ibi Latine, nam apud Numantiam lo-
qui didicerat, exclamat nostros frustra pugnare: paulo ante Mar-
ium sua manu interfectum; simul gladium sanguine oblitum os-
tendere, quem in pugna satis impigre occiso pedite nostro cruen-
taverat. Quod ubi milites accepere, magis atrocitate rei quam 7
fide nunti terrentur, simulque barbari animos tollere et in per-

8 culsos Romanos acrius incedere. Iamque paulum a fuga aberant,
cum Sulla profligatis eis, quos advorsum ierat, rediens ab latere
9 Mauris incurrit. Bocchus statim avortitur. At Iugurtha, dum
sustentare suos et prope iam adeptam victoriam retinere cupit
circumventus ab equitibus, dextra sinistra omnibus occisis solus
10 inter tela hostium vitabundus erumpit. Atque interim Marius
fugatis equitibus accurrit auxilio suis, quos pelli iam acceperat.
11 Denique hostes iam undique fusi. Tum spectaculum horribile
in campis patentibus: sequi, fugere, occidi, capi; equi viri afflicti,
ac multi volneribus acceptis neque fugere posse neque quietem
pati, niti modo ac statim concidere: postremo omnia, qua visus
erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus, et inter ea humus infec-
tus sanguine.

102 Post ea loci consul haud dubie iam victor pervenit in oppi-
2 dum Cirtam, quo initio profectus intenderat. Eo post diem
quintum, quam iterum barbari male pugnaverunt, legati a Boccho
veniunt, qui regis verbis ab Mario petivire, duos quam fidissumos
ad eum mitteret: velle de se et de populi Romani commodo cum
eis disserere. Ille statim L. Sullam et A. Manlium ire iubet.
3 Qui quamquam acciti ibant, tamen placuit verba apud regem
facere, uti ingenium aut avorsum flecterent, aut cupidum pacis
4 vehementius accenderent. Itaque Sulla, cuius facundiae, non
aetati a Manlio concessum, pauca verba huiusce modi locutus:
5 "Rex Bocche, magna laetitia nobis est, cum te talem virum
di monuere, uti aliquando pacem quam bellum malles neu te
optumum cum pessumo omnium Iugurtha miscendo commacu-
lares, simul nobis demeres acerbam necessitudinem, pariter te er-
6 rantem atque illum sceleratissumum persequi. Ad hoc populo
Romano iam a principio inopi melius visum amicos quam servos
7 quaerere, tutiusque rati volentibus quam coactis imperitare. Tibi
vero nulla opportunior nostra amicitia, primum quia procul ab-
sumus, in quo offensae minimum, gratia par ac si prope adesse-
mus, dein quia parentis abunde habemus, amicorum neque nobis
8 neque cuiquam omnium satis fuit. Atque hoc utinam a principio
tibi placuisset! profecto ex populo Romano ad hoc tempus multo
9 plura bona accepisses, quam mala perpessus es. Et quoniam hu-
manarum rerum Fortuna pleraque regit, cui scilicet placuit et

vim et gratiam nostram te experiri, nunc, quando per illam licet, festina atque, ut coepisti, perge. Multa atque opportuna habes, quo facilius errata officiis superes. Postremo hoc in pectus tuum demitte, numquam populum Romanum beneficiis victum esse; nam bello quid valeat, tute scis."

Ad ea Bocchus placide et benigne, simul pauca pro delicto suo verba facit: se non hostili animo, sed ob regnum tutandum arma cepisse; nam Numidiae partem, unde vi Iugurtham expulerit, iure belli suam factam; eam vastari a Mario pati nequivisse; praeterea missis antea Romam legatis repulsum ab amicitia; ceterum vetera omittere ac tum, si per Marium liceret, legatos ad senatum missurum. Dein copia facta animus barbari ab amicis flexus, quos Iugurtha cognita legatione Sullae et Manli, metuens id quod parabatur, donis corruperat.

103 Marius interea exercitu in hibernaculis composito cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitatus profiscitur in loca sola obsessum turrim regiam, quo Iugurtha perfugas omnis praesidium imposuerat.

Tum rursus Bochus, seu reputando, quae sibi duobus proeliis venerant, seu admonitus ab aliis amicis, quos incorruptos Iugurtha reliquerat, ex omni copia necessariorum quinque delegit, quorum et fides cognita et ingenia validissuma erant. Eos ad Marium ac deinde, si placeat, Romam legatos ire iubet; agundarum rerum et quocumque modo belli componundi licentiam ipsis permittit. Illi mature ad hiberna Romanorum proficiscuntur, deinde in itinere a Gaetulis latronibus circumventi spoliatique pavidi sine decore ad Sullam perfugiunt, quem consul in expeditionem proficiscens pro praetore reliquerat. Eos ille non pro vanis hostibus, uti meriti erant, sed accurate ac liberaliter habuit; qua re barbari et famam Romanorum avaritiae falsam et Sullam ob munificentiam in sese amicum rati. Nam etiam tum largitio multis ignota erat; munificus nemo putabatur, nisi pariter volens, dona omnia in benignitate habebantur. Igitur quaestori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt: simul ab eo petunt, uti fautor consultorque sibi adsit; copias, fidem, magnitudinem regis sui et alia, quae aut utilia aut benevolentiae esse credebant, oratione extollunt. Dein Sulla omnia

pollicito docti, quo modo apud Marium, item apud senatum verba facerent, circiter dies quadraginta ibidem opperiuntur.

104 Marius postquam confecto, quo intenderat, negotio Cirtam redit et de adventu legatorum certior factus est, illosque et Sullam et ab Utica venire iubet, item L. Billienum praetorem, praeterea omnis undique senatorii ordinis, quibuscum mandata
2 Bocchi cognoscit; legatis potestas Romam eundi fit, et ab consule interea indutiae postulabantur. Ea Sullae et plerisque placuere; pauci ferocius decernunt, scilicet ignari humanarum rerum, quae
3 fluxae et mobiles semper in advorsa mutantur. Ceterum Mauri impetratis omnibus rebus tres Romam profecti sunt cum Cn. Octavio Rusone, qui quaestor stipendium in Africam portaverat, duo ad regem redeunt. Ex eis Bocchus cum cetera, tum maxume
4 benignitatem et studium Sullae lubens accepit. Romaeque legatis eius, postquam errasse regem et Iugurthae scelere lapsum deprecati sunt, amicitiam et foedus petentibus hoc modo respondetur:
5 "Senatus et populus Romanus benefici et iniuriae memor esse solet. Ceterum Boccho, quoniam paenitet, delicti gratiam facit: foedus et amicitia dabuntur, cum meruerit."

105 Quibus rebus cognitis Bocchus per litteras a Mario petivit, uti Sullam ad se mitteret, cuius arbitratu de communibus ne-
2 gotiis consuleretur. Is missus cum praesidio equitum atque peditum, item funditorum Balearium; praeterea iere sagittarii et cohors Paeligna cum velitaribus armis, itineris properandi causa, neque his secus atque aliis armis advorsum tela hostium, quod
3 ea levia sunt, muniti. Sed in itinere quinto denique die Volux, filius Bocchi, repente in campis patentibus cum mille non amplius equitibus sese ostendit, qui temere et effuse euntes Sullae aliisque omnibus et numerum ampliorem vero et hostilem me-
4 tum efficiebant. Igitur se quisque expedire, arma atque tela temptare, intendere: timor aliquantus, sed spes amplior, quippe victoribus et advorsum eos, quos saepe vicerant. Interim equites
106 exploratum praemissi rem, uti erat, quietam nuntiant. Volux adveniens quaestorem appellat dicitque se a patre Boccho obviam illis simul et praesidio missum. Deinde eum et proxumum diem sine metu coniuncti eunt.

2 Post ubi castra locata et diei vesper erat, repente Maurus

incerto voltu pavens ad Sullam accurrit dicitque sibi ex speculatoribus cognitum Iugurtham haud procul abesse; simul, ut noctu clam secum profugeret, rogat atque hortatur. Ille animo feroci 3
negat se totiens fusum Numidam pertimescere: virtuti suorum satis credere; etiam si certa pestis adesset, mansurum potius quam proditis, quos ducebat, turpi fuga incertae ac forsitan post paulo morbo interiturae vitae parceret. Ceterum ab eodem 4
monitus, uti noctu proficisceretur, consilium approbat, ac statim milites cenatos esse in castris ignisque quam creberrumos fieri, dein prima vigilia silentio egredi iubet.

Iamque nocturno itinere fessis omnibus Sulla pariter cum 5
ortu solis castra metabatur, cum equites Mauri nuntiant Iugurtham circiter duum milium intervallo ante eos consedisse. Quod 6
postquam auditum est, tum vero ingens metus nostros invadit: credere se proditos a Voluce et insidiis circumventos. Ac fuere, qui dicerent manu vindicandum neque apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquendum. At Sulla, quamquam eadem existuma- **107**
bat, tamen ab iniuria Mauram prohibet; suos hortatur, uti fortem animum gererent: saepe antea paucis strenuius advorsum multitudinem bene pugnatum; quanto sibi in proelio minus pepercissent, tanto tutiores fore, neque quemquam decere, qui manus armaverit, ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere, in maxumo metu nudum et caecum corpus ad hostis vortere. Dein Volucem, quo- 2
niam hostilia faceret, Iovem maxumum obtestatus, ut sceleris atque perfidiae Bocchi testis adesset, ex castris abire iubet. Ille 3
lacrumans orare, ne ea crederet: nihil dolo factum, ac magis calliditate Iugurthae, cui videlicet speculanti iter suum cognitum esset; ceterum, quoniam neque ingentem multitudinem haberet 4
et spes opesque eius ex patre suo penderent, credere illum nihil palam ausurum, cum ipse filius testis adesset: qua re optumum 5
factu videri, per media eius castra palam transire; sese vel praemissis vel ibidem relictis Mauris solum cum Sulla iturum. Ea 6
res, uti in tali negotio, probata, ac statim profecti, quia de improviso acciderant, dubio atque haesitante Iugurtha incolumes transeunt. Deinde paucis diebus, quo ire intenderant, perventum 7
est.

Ibi cum Boccho Numida quidam, Aspar nomine, multum et **108**

familiariter agebat, praemissus ab Iugurtha, postquam Sullam accitum audierat, orator et subdole speculatum Bocchi consilia; praeterea Dabar, Massugradae filius, ex gente Masinissae, ceterum materno genere impar—nam pater eius ex concubina ortus
2 erat—Mauro ob ingeni multa bona carus acceptusque. Quem Bocchus fidum esse Romanis multis ante tempestatibus expertus, ilico ad Sullam nuntiatum mittit: paratum sese facere, quae populus Romanus vellet; colloquio diem, locum, tempus ipse deligeret, neu Iugurthae legatum pertimesceret; consulto sese omnia cum illo integra habere, quo res communis licentius gereretur:
3 nam ab insidiis eius aliter caveri nequivisse. Sed ego comperior Bocchum magis Punica fide quam ob ea, quae praedicabat, simul Romanos et Numidam spe pacis attinuisse, multumque cum animo suo volvere solitum, Iugurtham Romanis, an illi Sullam tra-
109 deret: lubidinem advorsum nos, metum pro nobis suasisse. Igitur Sulla respondit se pauca coram Aspare locuturum, cetera occulte nullo aut quam paucissumis praesentibus; simul edocet, quae sibi
2 responderentur. Postquam, sicuti voluerat, congressi, dicit se missum a consule venisse quaesitum ab eo, pacem an bellum agita-
3 turus foret. Tum rex, uti praeceptum fuerat, post diem decumum redire iubet ac nihil etiam nunc decrevisse, sed illo die re-
4 sponsurum. Deinde ambo in sua castra digressi. Sed ubi plerumque noctis processit, Sulla a Boccho occulte accersitur; ab utroque tantum modo fidi interpretes adhibentur, praeterea Dabar internuntius sanctus vir et ex sententia ambobus. Ac statim rex sic incipit:

110 "Numquam ego ratus sum fore, uti rex maxumus in hac
2 terra et omnium, quos novi, privato homini gratiam deberem. Et mehercule, Sulla, ante te cognitum multis orantibus, aliis ultro
3 egomet opem tuli, nullius indigui. Id imminutum, quod ceteri dolere solent, ego laetor: fuerit mihi eguisse aliquando pretium
4 tuae amicitiae, qua apud meum animum nihil carius habeo. Id mo lubet, sume, utere, et quoad vives, numquam tibi redditam gratiam putaveris; semper apud me integra erit; denique nihil me sciente frustra voles. Nam, ut ego aestumo, regem armis
5 adeo experiri licet: arma, viros, pecuniam, postremo quicquid ani-
6 quam munificentia vinci minus flagitiosum est. Ceterum de re

publica vostra, cuius curator huc missus es, paucis accipe. Bellum ego populo Romano neque feci, neque factum umquam volui: at finis meos advorsum armatos armis tutatus sum. Id omitto, 7
quando vobis ita placet: gerite, quod voltis, cum Iugurtha bellum. Ego flumen Mulaccham, quod inter me et Micipsam fuit, non egrediar, neque id intrare Iugurtham sinam. Praeterea si 8
quid meque vobisque dignum petiveris, haud repulsus abibis."

Ad ea Sulla pro se breviter et modice, de pace et communibus rebus multis disseruit. Denique regi patefecit: quod polliceatur, senatum et populum Romanum, quoniam armis amplius valuissent, non in gratiam habituros; faciundum ei aliquid, quod illorum magis quam sua rettulisse videretur; id adeo in promptu esse, quoniam copiam Iugurthae haberet: quem si Romanis tradidisset, fore ut illi plurumum deberetur; amicitiam, foedus, Numidiae partem, quam nunc peteret, tunc ultro adventuram. Rex 2
primo negitare: cognationem, affinitatem, praeterea foedus intervenisse; ad hoc metuere, ne fluxa fide usus popularium animos avorteret, quis et Iugurtha carus et Romani invisi erant. Denique saepius fatigatus lenitur et ex voluntate Sullae omnia se facturum promittit. Ceterum ad simulandam pacem, cuius Numida 4
defessus bello avidissumus erat, quae utilia visa constituunt. Ita composito dolo digrediuntur. **111**

Et rex postero die Asparem, Iugurthae legatum, appellat **112**
dicitque: sibi per Dabarem ex Sulla cognitum posse condicionibus bellum poni: quam ob rem regis sui sententiam exquireret. Ille laetus in castra Iugurthae proficiscitur, deinde ab illo cuncta 2
edoctus properato itinere post diem octavum redit ad Bocchum et ei nuntiat: Iugurtham cupere omnia, quae imperarentur, facere, sed Mario parum confidere; saepe antea cum imperatoribus Romanis pacem conventam frustra fuisse; ceterum Bocchus, si am- 3
bobus consultum et ratam pacem vellet, daret operam, ut una ab omnibus quasi de pace in colloquium veniretur, ibique sibi Sullam traderet; cum talem virum in potestam habuisset, tum fore uti iussu senatus aut populi foedus fieret; neque hominem nobilem, non sua ignavia, sed ob rem publicam in hostium potestate relictum iri.

Haec Maurus secum ipse diu volvens tandem promisit: cete- **113**

rum dolo an vere cunctatus, parum comperimus. Sed plerumque regiae voluntates, ut vehementes, sic mobiles, saepe ipsae
2 sibi advorsae. Postea tempore et loco constituto, in colloquium uti de pace veniretur, Bocchus Sullam modo, modo Iugurthae legatum appellare, benigne habere, idem ambobus polliceri. Illi
3 pariter laeti ac spei bonae pleni esse. Sed nocte ea, quae proxuma fuit ante diem colloquio decretum, Maurus adhibitis amicis ac statim immutata voluntate remotis dicitur secum ipse multum agitavisse, voltu et oculis pariter atque animo varius: quae scilicet
4 tacente ipso occulta pectoris patefecisse. Tamen postremo Sullam accersi iubet et ex illius sententia Numidae insidias tendit.
5 Deinde, ubi dies advenit et ei nuntiatum est Iugurtham haud procul abesse, cum paucis amicis et quaestore nostro quasi obvius honoris causa procedit in tumulum facillumum visu insidiantibus.
6 Eodem Numida cum plerisque necessariis suis inermis, uti dictum erat, accedit ac statim signo dato undique simul ex insidiis invaditur. Ceteri obtruncati, Iugurtha Sullae vinctus traditur et ab eo ad Marium deductus est.

114 Per idem tempus advorsum Gallos ab ducibus nostris Q. Caepione et Cn. Manlio male pugnatum: quo metu Italia omnis contremuit. Illimque usque ad nostram memoriam Romani sic
2 habuere, alia omnia virtuti suae prona esse, cum Gallis pro salute,
3 non pro gloria certari. Sed postquam bellum in Numida confectum et Iugurtham Romam vinctum adduci nuntiatum est, Marius consul absens factus est et ei decreta provincia Gallia:
4 isque Kalendis Ianuariis magna gloria consul triumphavit. Et ea tempestate spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitae

NOTES

Introduction (chapters 1-5). The introduction, like that to the Catiline, in which there are striking similarities in thought, bears no logical relation to the narrative proper. This fact was pointed out as early as Quintilian; cf. 3,8,9 C. Sallustius . . . nihil ad historiam pertinentibus principiis orsus est. For its character and purpose see Introduction, p. xv.

1. 1. **falso queritur, etc.**: emphatic, "without reason is the complaint of mankind," etc. **imbecilla**: only this declension in Sallust. Forms of imbecillis are rare in classic Latin. **aevi brevis**: genitive of quality in place of a second adjective; cf. 64,5 homo inanis et regiae superbiae. So the ablative 5,1; 63,7. aevum is less frequent than aetas, being found chiefly in poetry or in solemn style; cf. Hor. Sat. 2,6,97 vive memor, quam sis aevi brevis; Cic. Somn. Scip. 3 esse in caelo . . . ubi beati aevo sempiterno fruantur. **forte**: ablative of fors, which is more often opposed to consilium; cf. 51,1; 92,6. **virtute**: "by (individual) merit;" virtus (cf. vir) means "manly excellence," moral, mental, or physical, and is rarely as restricted in meaning as English "virtue." **regatur**: subjunctive because representing the thought of genus humanum. See A.[1] 540; B. 286; H. 588. II; H-B. 535,2,a; G. 541.

2. **reputando**:=si reputes and supplies the protasis to invenias, subjunctive with the indefinite 2nd person; cf. 10,4 queas; 31,28 neglegas. Note the change in construction with invenias, i.e. accusative to accusative with infinitive. Changes

[1]The usual abbreviations for the Latin Grammars are employed: A. (Allen and Greenough); B. (Bennett); G. (Gildersleeve-Lodge); H. (Harkness); H-B. (Hale and Buck).

to give variety and vigor of style are a marked characteristic of Sallust's writings; cf. 4,7; 6,1; 7,1, etc. **praestabilius**: sc. quam humanam naturam. **vim aut tempus**: opposed respectively to imbecilla and aevi brevis, "strength or length of days."

3. **dux atque imperator**: "director and ruler;" terms from the military sphere; dux is the weaker, often corresponding to imperator, as our commander to commander-in-chief. atque regularly adds a more important member; cf. 5,2 bellum atque vastitas. **mortalium**: used for hominum frequently by Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus, apparently to give greater weight. Not in Caesar, and in Cicero only with multi, omnes, cuncti, etc. Sallust uses it with or without such modifiers. **qui**: sc. animus; in English the connective force of the relative is best brought out by substituting a demonstrative with an appropriate conjunction. **grassatur**: intensive from gradior, "aspires (lit. "strides") to fame by the path of merit;" cf. 64,5; Hor. Sat. 2,5,93 obsequio grassare. Intensive and frequentative verbs—common in the sermo plebeius—are used more often by Sallust than by any other classic writer. This is probably an archaism due to his imitation of Cato; cf. 8,1 pollicitari; 12,5 occursare; 19,7 imperitare. **pollens potensque**: "mighty and masterful;" -que unites more closely than et, especially nearly related terms into a simple whole. pollens="gifted with power;" potens="able to use power." Double expressions are often used by Sallust for rhetorical effect; cf. above dux atque imperator; 10,8 colite, observate. Noteworthy too is his use of alliterative pairs, as in the sermo plebeius; cf. 21,2 fugant funduntque; 24,3 ferro an fame; 42,4 ferro aut fuga; 41,4 asperius acerbiusque. **fortuna**: refers to forte (§ 1), and supplies the subject of potest (§ 3). The ablative with egere is rare in Sallust; the genitive, used freely by him, is uncommon before his time. **quippe . . . potest**: "in as much as worth, diligence and other good qualities it can neither give any one nor take away." With quippe Sallust uses only the indicative, as do the writers of the sermo plebeius; cf. 7,6; 14,10 and often. Cicero usually employs the subjunctive; Livy has either mood. **artis**: a favorite word with Sallust, and often more

clearly defined by an adjective; by bonae (also 4,7; 28,5, etc.); malae (41,1); optumae (85,9); pessumae (85,43).

4. **sin . . . accusatur**: "but if (the mind) enthralled by base desires has been degraded to slothfulness and pleasures of the body, and has indulged even for a short time in ruinous sensuality, then, when strength, time, and natural gifts have passed away in indolence, nature is blamed for its weakness;" sin is used in the second of two conditions which exclude each other; cf. 8,2; 10,6. Here qui ubi . . . grassatur (§3) is equivalent to a si-clause. **cupidinibus**: not in Cicero or Caesar, but frequent in Sallust, who uses cupiditas, the regular prose word, but three times. **diffluxere**: 3rd person plural forms of the perfect in -ēre are frequent in the poets and historians, especially in Sallust and his model Cato. Some verbs vary; cf. 91,5 cognovere; 87,4 cognoverunt; 4,2 dixere; Cat. 51,9 dixerunt; 13,7 venere; Cat. 45,3 venerunt. **suam quisque . . . transferunt**: "the blame that is his (very) own, each (subject of this reproach) attributes to circumstances;" quisque is in distributive apposition with auctores (sc. culpae). Pronouns are often grouped together, especially quisque with reflexives; cf. 18,3 multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus; 53,8; Cic. Lael. 21,80 per se quisque sibi carus est; Cic. Cat. 2,5,11 huic ego me bello ducem profiteor.

5. **bonarum rerum, etc.**: "as great a passion for things of worth." **quanto studio**: for quantum est studium quo, "as (is) the eagerness with which." **aliena**: "unsuitable." lit. "foreign." **regerentur**: sc. casibus, supplied from casus="circumstances;" cf. Cat. 51,38 imitari (sc. bonos) quam invidere bonis malebant. **eo magnitudinis, etc.**: "would reach such a degree of greatness as to be no longer (mere) mortals, but (would become) in fame immortal;" cf. 5,2; 14,3. The partitive genitive with adverbs of place occurs first in Sallust; not in Cicero or Caesar, but frequent in Tacitus and later authors. **pro**: with its noun= iam non mortales essent sed; cf. Livy 22,12,12 pro cauto (=qui cautus erat) timidum compellabat. Not ubi, but ut is usual after eo; cf. 5,2 eo vecordiae processit, ut. **gloria**: ablative of specification.

2. 1. **genus hominum, etc.**: cf. Cat. 1,2 omnis vis in animo et corpore sita est; Cic. Fin. 5,34 perspicuum est hominem e corpore animoque constare. **anima**: "spirit," i.e. life-principle; when opposed to corpus it often differs little from animus. **corporis alia, alia animi**: the contrast between these pairs is enhanced by chiasmus—an order frequent in Sallust for rhetorical effect. So alius alius again 12,5; 60,4, etc. **animus**: "mind," i.e. the principle of thought, will, intelligence, etc., as opposed to the irrational, or to the instincts of lower animals. **secuntur**: for sequuntur; so 13,1. The spelling of Sallust's time was in a state of change.

2. **igitur**: in Sallust always first in the sentence, except in questions; in most authors it comes second, but may stand third, if an emphatic est or sunt is second. **praeclara facies**: "conspicuous beauty;" here a "beautiful face" for beauty in general. **ad hoc**: "moreover;" "in addition." A favorite conjunction; cf. 6,1; 17,6, etc. **dilabuntur**: nearly the same meaning as in diffluxere (1,4). For the general thought cf. Cat. 1,4 divitiarum et formae gloria fluxa atque fragilis est. **at ingeni, etc.**: "but the splendid achievements of the intellect," etc. at introduces a sharp contrast with what precedes (cf. 20,2; 31,28); sed merely corrects or alters what precedes (cf. 6,1; 7,3); verum emphasizes what follows (cf. 3,1; 14,8). **ingenium**: lit. "inborn qualities;" it ranges in meaning from this to "temperament," "character," "talent," "mind," etc. **facinora**: facinus denotes a weighty deed, usually in a bad sense, unless some epithet (as egregia) shows the opposite; cf. 13,1 tanti facinoris.

3. **postremo**: "finally;" "in a word;" very frequent in Sallust, and often used like prorsus and denique to introduce the last of a series or to sum up what precedes. **bonorum**: "of the gifts;" neuter depending on initium, and in turn governing corporis et fortunae. **omniaque orta occidunt et aucta senescunt**: "and (as a rule) everything rises only to set, and waxes only to wane." Such terse and energetic expressions (sententiae) make Sallust's style succinct and striking; they are frequent in the speeches (cf. 10,4; 31,26; 31,28), but are also found in the ordinary narrative; cf. 6,1 plurumum facere, minu-

mum ipse de se loqui; 42,3; 53,8; 83,1. **animus**: the contrast with the preceding statement is heightened by asyndeton. For the thought cf. Xenoph. Ages. 11,14 *ἡ μὲν τοῦ σώματος ἰσχὺς γηράσκει, ἡ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ῥώμη ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγήρατός ἐστιν*, "strength of body grows infirm, but the power of noble men's minds is beyond decline." **incorruptus**: "incorruptible;" properly "uncorrupted," but here with the force of an adjective in -bilis, hence=qui corrumpi non potest; cf. 43,5 invictum; 76,1 infectum; 91,7 coercitum. **agit**:=est; agere in this sense with predicate nominative also 55,2; 55,7; 89,7. **habet . . . habetur**: "controls all things and is itself controlled by none;" cf. Cic. Fam. 9,26,2 habeo, non habeor a Laide.

4. **quo magis, etc.**: a close stylistic parallel is found in Tac. Ann. 2,55 quo magis socordiam eorum inridere libet. **admiranda**: "astonishing." **dediti corporis, etc.**: cf. Cat. 2,8 multi mortales dediti ventri atque somno . . . vitam sicut peregrinantes transiere. **ceterum**: "but;" "on the other hand;" in this sense rare before Sallust and colloquial; cf. 14,1; 22,3, etc. Usually it denotes a mere transition to something new; cf. 4,1; 10,7. **incultu**: "neglect." **torpescere**: properly used of the body, but in the figurative sense also Cat. 16,3 ne . . . torpescerent manus aut animus. **cum praesertim**: "although;" "especially since." May be either concessive to ceterum ingenium . . . sinunt, or causal to the main clause quo magis . . . admiranda est. **multae variaeque**: multus, plurimus and a following adjective of quality are usually connected; cf. 5,4; 28,5; 102,10. **artes animi**: "intellectual employments." **claritudo**: claritas is the usual word. Sallust is noticeably fond of the archaic ending -tudo, prevalent in the sermo plebeius; cf. 7,4; 19,8 necessitudo; 50,1 lassitudo.

3. 1. **ex eis**: sc. artibus animi. **magistratus et imperia**: "civil and military offices." The former means that of praetor, consul, censor, etc.; the latter, implying originally supreme power—civil judicial, and military—has reference to military commands in the provinces. Cf. Cic. Lael. 17,63 ubi eos inveniemus qui honores, magistratus, imperia . . . amicitiae non anteponant? **omnis cura, etc.**: "all political activity." **hac tem-**

pestate: tempestas=tempus is frequent in Sallust; cf. 8,1; 13,7. The usage is chiefly archaic and poetical; yet found in Cicero, Livy, and Tacitus. **cupiunda**: usual agreement when the predicate refers to subjects of different genders; cf. 17,2 minus frequentata. **honos**: "honor" (of public office), i.e. political preferment; cf. 25,4 maiores natu nobiles, amplis honoribus usi. The older ending -os is found also in odos (44,4); lepos (Cat. 25,5); colos (Cat. 15,5). **quibus per fraudem fuit**: honos is the subject, "have unlawfully obtained it" (honor). **honesti**: "honored;" cf. 8,1 clari magis quam honesti.

2. **nam**: gives the reason for the statement neque illi . . . sunt. **patriam aut parentes**: alliteration; parentes (from pario) ="parents," not "subjects" as 102,7. The former meaning is supported by other passages where the word is joined with patria, as 87,2; Cat. 6,5; 52,3. Cf. Cic. Fam. 1,9,18 vim neque parenti neque patriae afferre oportere; Plato, Crito, 51,C *βιάζεσθαι δ' οὐχ ὅσιον οὔτε μητέρα οὔτε πατέρα, πολὺ δὲ τούτων ἔτι ἧττον τὴν πατρίδα,* "it is unnatural to use force against mother or father, but much worse than this (to use it against) one's country." **quamquam et possis**: "although one may be able;" the potential subjunctive, especially with the indefinite 2nd person, is sometimes found with quamquam; cf. A. 447, 2 and 3; G. 257, N. 3; B. 280,2; H. 569; H-B. 517. **delicta corrigas**: "may set wrongs aright." **importunum**. "unfitting." **portendant**: "foretell;" "point to."

3. **neque aliud . . . quaerere**: "and to gain nothing but ill-will by one's exertions." quaerere=quaerendo consequi. i.e. despite one's efforts for the public weal, so surely is ill-will his reward that it amounts to a deliberate seeking. The irony may have been prompted by Sallust's own political experience. Cf. colloquial English "to look for trouble." **extremae dementiae**: predicate genitive.

4. **nisi forte**: an ironical exception in the form of a reductio ad absurdum (cf. 31,20), i.e. the third course suggested is impossible, since no self-respecting man can take it. The allusion is to Pompey and his services to the Optimates. **quem**: the indefinite pronoun is regularly in the shortened form after si,

nisi, ne (neu) and num; cf. 6,3; 8,2; 14,16, etc. **potentiae paucorum**: the aristocratic party (Optimates) is frequently attacked by Sallust; cf. 13,5; 15,3; 27,2, etc. Other designations are: paucos potentis (31,19); paucorum (41,7; 42,1); nobiles (8,1; 25,4); paucis nobilibus (31,9); nobilitas (4,7; 13,5, etc.); factio (29,2; 31,1). The democratic party (Populares) is likewise variously referred to, e.g. populus (30,3; 32,1); plebes (33,3; 40,3, etc.); partium popularium (41,1); populi partium (43,1). **gratificari**: "to sacrifice;" depends on lubido tenet= lubet; cf. Plaut. Trin. 865 lubidost (=lubet) opservare. The infinitive is used elsewhere by Sallust with phrases equivalent to a verb; cf. Cat. 17, 6 quibus . . . vivere copia erat (=poterant); Cat. 30,4 quibus . . . vendere mos erat (=solebant).

4. 1. **ceterum**: "further;" "moreover;" cf. note 2,4. **aliis**: i.e. other than the minume . . . cupiunda (3,1). **magno usui**: final dative; found often with another dative of person or thing affected; cf. 5,4 regi dono. **memoria, etc.**: "the recalling of past events," i.e. the investigation and writing of history.

2. **virtute**: "value;" "usefulness." **praetereundum**: sc. esse mihi. **simul**: connects a less with a more important item; cf. 20,1; 102,5. Note that the two reasons given are in different constructions. **per insolentiam, etc.**: construe closely with laudando extollere, "that on account of vanity I exalt my own calling by praising it;" cf. Tac. Ann. 14,43 ne . . . studium meum extollere viderer. extollere is used with laudibus (15,2); with oratione (65,3, etc.). **memet**: emphatic form; cf. 85,4. -met may be used with any form of the personal pronoun except tu and the genitive plural; cf. 85,13 egomet; Cat. 20,6 nosmet: 18,7 semet. With the possessive pronoun it is usually added only to the ablative singular; cf. 8,2; 31,6. But Sallust uses the accusative meamet (85,24).

3. **decrevi procul, etc.**: cf. Cat. 4,1 reliquam aetatem a re publica procul habendam decrevi. **inertiae**: appositional genitive. See A. 343,d; G. 361,1; B. 202; H. 440,4; H-B. 341. **qui . . . imponant**: relative clause of characteristic; cf. § 7 quin . . . contendat. **certe quibus**:=certe eos (nomen inertiae imposituros) quibus. **maxuma industria**: keen irony, referring

to the demagogic arts of the politician; industria as predicate with an infinitive used as subject occurs nowhere else. **salutare plebem, etc.:** greetings, handshakings and banquets were favorite methods of candidates in soliciting support for office; cf. Livy 23,4,2 hinc senatores . . . plebem adulari; salutare, benigne invitare, apparatis accipere epulis.

4. **quibus . . . temporibus:** i.e. the character of the times; cf. Cat. 3,3 studio ad rem publicam latus sum; ibique mihi multa advorsa fuere. Nam . . . audacia, largitio, avaritia vigebant. **postea quae genera hominum:** "the class of men who afterwards;" a distinct lowering of standard in the senate's personnel took place, first under Sulla, then under Caesar, and later under Antony. Many wholly unfit for membership were admitted as a reward for military service. **merito:** "for good reason;" cf. Cat. 51,25 illis merito accidet quicquid evenerit. **iudicium animi:** "mind;" animi is pleonastic; so 6,3 animi cupidinem; 7,7 munificentia animi; 20,1; 57,6 timor animi. **ex otio meo . . . aliorum negotiis:** "from my (life of) leisure than from the active pursuits of others;" otium points back to procul e re publica, etc. (§ 3), and is contrasted in meaning and etymology with negotium (=nec+otium). The chiastic order here emphasizes the personal element, as elsewhere in Sallust; cf. 35,9; 84,2.

5. **Q. Maxumum:** i.e. Q. Fabius Maximus, called Cunctator because of his policy of delay against Hannibal; less probably his grandson by adoption, Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, the son of L. Aemilius Paulus victor over King Perseus at Pydna 168 B. C. **P. Scipionem:** i.e. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, conqueror of Hannibal at Zama 202 B. C.; less probably P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, also a son of L. Aemilius Paulus, and destroyer of Carthage and Numantia. **ita dicere:** ita and sic are often explained by a following accusative with infinitive clause; cf. 14, 12 sic existumabam. **maiorum imagines:** wax portrait-masks or busts of ancestors were kept in the atrium, the main room of the Roman house. They indicated the names and honors of the persons represented. The right of keeping them and of having them carried at funeral processions

was enjoyed only by the nobility. **vehementissume, etc.**: "that their minds were in the highest degree inspired to manly deeds." Note the metaphor in accendere="blaze;" "enkindle."

6. **scilicet**: "assuredly neither the wax nor the likeness possessed such great power in itself." scilicet (=scire+licet) governing the accusative with infinitive is found also 113,3. This usage is archaic; habere may, however, be explained as governed by some verb supplied from the preceding ita dicere. **memoria**: "at the remembrance of (their ancestors') deeds." **eam flammam . . . crescere**: "this feeling of emulation (lit. "flame") grew." **egregiis viris**: the dative of possession with abstractions and qualities is found first in Sallust. Most classic writers limit this construction to things. **eorum**: sc. maiorum; depends upon famam atque gloriam. **prius . . . quam**: Sallust greatly prefers priusquam to antequam (used but three times), as do Caesar and Cicero. Livy uses antequam freely.

7. **eis moribus**: ablative absolute; "in our (corrupt) times;" cf. Cic. Quinct. 30,93 ista . . . plurimum posse his moribus sentit. **quin contendat**: "who does not vie with . . . rather than (lit. "not") in upright living and industry." quin= qui non; for the mood cf. § 3 qui . . . imponant. **homines novi . . . nobilitatem**: novus homo was used of a man who was the first in his family to fill a curule office, i.e. that of aedile, praetor, consul, censor, or dictator. Notable examples were Cato the Censor, Marius, and Cicero. Such men though admitted to the senate were not nobiles, but their descendants were. However, the latter but rarely reached this distinction since the senate and magistrates could usually prevent anyone not already a member of the nobility from being elected to office. Thus political equality was largely theoretical, and the nobility was in fact a self-perpetuating class of office holders. From this official class the senators were chosen, so that the ordo senatorius and the nobilitas were practically one and the same. From about the period of the Gracchi (133 B. C.) to the end of the Republic the nobility, as a political party, were called Optimates; their opponents, representing popular or democratic policies, Populares, **antevenire**: "to surpass;" cf. 96,3

(Sulla) plerosque antevenire. Rare in this sense; used absolutely Tac. Ann. 4,18 (beneficia) . . . ubi multum antevenere; with the dative, Plaut. Cas. 217 omnibus rebus amorem credo . . . antevenire. **furtim et per latrocinia, etc.**: "by intrigue and knavery rather than by honorable means"; note the change from adverb to per with accusative, and again to the ablative; cf. note 1,2. Adverbs in -im (except a few in general use) are rare in the classic period, but numerous in archaic writers.

8. **proinde quasi . . . sint**: in a conditional clause of comparison the tense usually follows the rule for sequence rather than for conditions; cf. 31,10; 85,19. See A. 524; G. 602; B. 307,2; H. 584; H-B. 504,3. **per se ipsa**: ipse usually agrees with the subject, although in English the greater emphasis is on the reflexive object; cf. 14,4; 18,7; 41,10.

9. **verum ego**: the personal pronoun often stands second in Sallust; so 85,1 scio ego. **me . . . piget taedetque**: "I am vexed and disgusted;" cf. A. 354,b; G. 377; B. 209; H. 457; H-B. 352,1. **ad inceptum redeo**: repeated 42,5; found also Tac. Ann. 4,33.

The Jugurthine War as a subject. History of the royal family in Numidia (chapters 11-16).

5. 1. **bellum scripturus sum**: Sallust's work proper begins with part of a hexameter; so Livy's preface, and Tacitus' Annales. A number of such verses, complete or partial, have been detected in Latin prose. While most of these are doubtless accidental, a rhythmical combination clearly enhances the conscious gravity of beginning a work on history. **magnum et atrox**: "great and dreadful;" the former in difficulties encountered, the latter in shocking details. The war was in no sense notable for large armies, great loss of life, or events of world wide importance. **variaque victoria**: "of varying success;" cf. note 1,1 aevi brevis, **dehinc**:=deinde, as Cat. 3,2, but rarely so before Sallust. **superbiae . . . obviam itum est**: "opposition was made to the haughty nobility," i.e. successful opposition. The Gracchi had at least checked the senate's power (133-121 B. C.). Then after their death, and during a period of

reaction, the rule of the aristocracy was restored. Sallust refers to its subsequent humiliation by the court of inquiry proposed by the tribune Mamilius (110 B. C.), by which a number suspected of bribery and treason in connection with Jugurtha were driven into exile; cf. chapters 41 and 42. obviam ire is usually hostile in sense, and often the objects of hostility are not persons, but abstractions; cf. 14,25 iniuriae; 22,3 sceleri; 31,4 factionis potentiae; 42,1 Gracchorum actionibus.

2. **eo vecordiae**: "to such a degree of madness;" cf. note 1,5 eo magnitudinis. vecordia (cf. 72,2; 94,4, etc.), not found in prose prior to Sallust, occurs in Tacitus and later authors. The particle ve- (="out," "away," and found only in compounds) negatives a positive, or emphasizes a simple idea; cf. vecors, "out of (one's) senses;" vegrandis, "not large," i.e. "greatness away;" vepallidus, "very pale." **studiis civilibus . . . finem faceret**: "civil dissensions ended in," etc. The subjects combine to form one idea, hence the verb is singular; cf. 15,3; 39,5, etc.

3. **expedio**:=expono or narro: the first prose example in this sense, but frequent in Vergil and later prose. For the whole clause cf. Cat. 4,5 pauca prius explananda sunt, quam initium narrandi faciam. **pauca supra repetam**: "I will briefly review preceding events;" closely paralleled by Tac. Ann. 16,18 de C. Petronio pauca supra repetenda sunt. **quo . . . sint**: "that everything may be more clear for (the) understanding and more open to view;" note the position of magis in a paraphrase for the comparative (cf. 8,1; 33,4); also chiasmus with following magisque in aperto. **in aperto**: Sallust employs as substantives a large number of adjectives in the oblique cases governed by prepositions; cf. 14,11; 14,16; 20,3, etc. This usage, rare in the classic period, but frequent in Plautus, Livy, and later writers, has numerous analogies in Greek.

4. **Bello Punico**: while words not in themselves denoting time require the preposition, none is used when an adjective or dependent genitive accompanies. But even when not thus modified, some common words omit the preposition; cf. 6,2 initio; 19,7 bello neque pace. However, the preposition is found in

any case where *situation* rather than time is meant; cf. 14, 13 in omnibus bellis; 66,3 in tali die. **post magnitudinem, etc.**: "had brought the greatest destruction to . . . since the Roman name became powerful;" cf. Cat. 5,6 post dominationem L. Sullae. atterere=lit. "to wear away." **Africano cognomen**: "surnamed Africanus;" the dative of the name also 79,5 nomen Philaenis erat. The nominative is more usual; cf. Cic. Verr. 4,53,118 cui nomen Arethusa est. **ex virtute**: cognomina from the name of the country conquered were often bestowed in recognition of valor in war. According to Livy (30,45,7), P. Cornelius Scipio was the first Roman so honored, primus certe hic imperator nomine victae ab se gentis est nobilitatus. But Livy's statement is incorrect, since M. Valerius Corvinus received the cognomen Messala as early as 263 B. C. See Sen. de Brev. Vit. 13,5. **multa et praeclara**: cf. 2,4 multae variaeque. **facinora fecerat**: the figura etymologica (a combination of words of kindred origin) occurs elsewhere in Sallust; cf. 32,2; Cat. 7,6. **capto Syphace**: Syphax, rival of Masinissa, and at first the ally, but later the enemy of Rome, was taken prisoner 202 B. C. **magnum atque late . . . valuit**: (whose power . . .) "was great and widely extending;" valuit=valens fuit, from which fuit is easily supplied with magnum; cf. 89,4 oppidum magnum atque valens. Or magnum and late may be adverbial accusatives; cf. such phrases as multum, tantum, plurimum valere. **manu**: "in battle" (lit. "by hand"); a military expression; cf. 7,1 manu promptus; 20,4 manu vindicaturum. **dono dedit**: for the case cf. 4,1 magno usui; a regular formula, found also 85,38 and frequently in Sallust's Historiae.

5. **igitur**: cf. note 2,1. **bona atque honesta**: "faithful and honorable." **sed imperi . . . fuit**: i.e. his death deprived Rome of the good will and unimpaired power of Numidia, which was soon divided.

6. **dein**: in his rapid summary Sallust passes over the joint rule of Micipsa and his brothers. **ex**: with ortus also 48,3; 72,1; 108,2. ab is usual in classical writers. **privatum . . . dereliquerat**: "had left behind in private station," i.e. with no claim to succession.

7. **eodem cultu . . . habuit**: "he brought up with the same training;" cf. Livy 45,28,11 omni liberali cultu habuit; Tac. Ann. 12,51 (Zenobia) cultu regio habita est.

6. The character sketch of Jugurtha (chapters 6-7) offers a good illustration of Sallust's concise and forceful style. Note the large number of participial clauses and historical infinitives, the changes of construction, rhetorical figures, etc.

1. **pollens . . . validus**: "powerful in strength, comely in appearance, but especially vigorous in mind;" observe the change from an adjective to a noun modified by an adjective, and cf. 17,6; 20,2. The three pairs are arranged in chiasmus. So with a different order of pairs 17,5; and still another 31,12; 70,2; 81,1. **multo maxume**: multo with a comparative and longe with a superlative is the general rule in classic authors. **corrumpendum**: gerundive of purpose. **equitare . . . loqui**: the historical infinitive—very frequent in Sallust—is used in descriptions, summaries, rapid sequences of thought, etc. It has the force of an imperfect or of an historical present and lends vividness to the narrative. Usually several are found together, here seven; 66,1 eleven; 94,4f. thirteen. esse in this construction is rare in Cicero, but frequent in Sallust. **ad hoc**: cf. note 2,2. **leonem**: collective singular; cf. 17,5 arbore; 48,3 oleastro; 57,4 glande. **aut**: "or at least;" used frequently to correct a preceding statement; cf. 14,17; 31,19; 56,5.

2. **tametsi**: for etsi, which is not used by Sallust. The redundant tametsi . . . tamen is found throughout the Catiline, but not in the Jugurtha after chapter 38. **initio**: cf. note 5,4 Bello Punico. **crescere**: "was growing in influence;" cf. Cat. 51,32 qui malo rei publicae creverant." **intellegit**: archaic for intellexit, as in 40,1 neglegisset for neglexisset. **negotio**: negotium=res is frequent in Sallust, Plautus, and Terence. **cum animo suo**: cum in such expressions is rare in classic authors, but frequent in comedy. Sallust uses it with habere (11,8); reputare (13,5; 70,5, etc.); trahere (93,1).

3. **terrebat**: emphatic order. **animi cupidinem**: do not translate animi; cf. 4,4. For cupido cf. 1,3. **opportunitas, etc.**: "the favorable chance (of Jugurtha's securing power because)

of his own age," etc. **aetatis**: subjective genitive. **quae**: sc. opportunitas. **mediocris**: "moderate" (-ly ambitious). **transvorsos agit**: "drives from the right course;" cf. Seneca, Epist. 1,8,4 ne resistere quidem licet, quum coepit transversos agere felicitas; Cato (cf. Gellius 6 (7), 3,14) secundae res laetitia transvorsum trudere solent. Note adjective for adverb; cf. 12,5 divorsi; 21,1 obvius; 31,6 praeceps; 61,5 occultus. **studia . . . accensa**: "the ardent enthusiasm," etc.; cf. Tac. Ann. 3,4 studia hominum accensa in Agrippinam; Livy 29,19,10 accensis studiis pro Scipione. **quibus**: sc. studiis . . . accensis. **talem**:=tam egregium (τοιοῦτον) as 10,8; 32,5; 63,6, etc. **interfecisset**: Micipsa's thought; cf. note 1,1 regatur.

7. 1. **per vim . . . insidiis**: cf. 1,2. per instrumental interchanged with the ablative is rare in prose before Sallust. **popularibus**: "fellow countrymen;" as a noun it is used in this sense throughout the Jugurtha; in the Catiline popularis means "accomplice." **manu promptus**: "ready for strife;" cf. 5,4 manu ceperat. Note the chiasmus with following adjective and noun. The same figure, likewise in personal description and in the same order of pairs, is found § 5; 28,5. **gloriae militaris**: objective genitive; cf. Cat. 5,4 alieni appetens; Cic. Imper. 7 semper appetentes gloriae praeter ceteras gentis fuistis. **obiectare periculis**: cf. Tac. Hist. 2,33 ne principem obiectare periculis viderentur.

2. **bello Numantino**: Numantia, the capital of one of the tribes of central Spain, revolted against the Roman authority in 143 B. C. After a prolonged siege and heroic defense the city surrendered 133 B. C. to Scipio Aemilianus, the destroyer of Carthage. **ostentando . . . saevitia**: change from gerund to substantive; the reverse change § 4 labore . . . parendo; 66,1; 89,1.

3. **ac**: after words of difference or likeness atque (ac)=="than" or "as;" cf. 15,1; 45,2.

4. **morem**: i.e. their mode of fighting. **modestissume parendo**: "by the strictest obedience." modestus (from modus=="measure") in military language is applied to one who conforms to the "measure" (standard) of discipline; cf. 44,1 sine

imperio et modestia. **in tantam claritudinem . . . pervenerat**: "had become so celebrated;" a periphrasis for the passive, as 13,7 in gratiam . . . veniret.

5. **quod . . . est**: an explanatory clause regularly refers to what follows; cf. 10,2 quod . . . est; 14,11 sicut videtis; 14,15 quem decuit; 47,2 id quod res monebat. **difficillumum**: "exceedingly difficult" (i.e. for one to be). **in primis**: often found with the positive (cf. 4,1; Cat. 3,2), rarely with the superlative. **alterum . . . alterum**: "the one (quality) . . . the other;" these refer in inverse order (chiasmus) to proelio strenuus and bono consilio, while standing themselves at the beginning of successive clauses (anaphora); cf. 14,14 alter . . . alterius. **audacia**: "daring;" "courage," as in 94,2, but in 14,11 "insolence," "presumption." Rare in the good sense, except in the historians and in poetry; cf. Livy 21,4,5 plurimum audaciae ad pericula capessenda; Propert. 2,10,5 quod si deficiant vires audacia certe laus erit. **plerumque solet**: this pleonasm again 66,2; 70,2.

6. **omnis fere res asperas, etc.**: note the similarity in the description of Hannibal (Livy 21,4,4) neque . . . alium quemquem praeficere malle ubi quid fortiter ac strenue agendum esset. Plurimum audaciae ad pericula capessenda, plurimum consilii inter ipsa pericula erat. **in dies**: "from day to day;" cf. 74,1; used with expressions of increase or decrease and such as involve comparison, while cotidie is used of things daily repeated. **quippe cuius**: "since (he was one) whose," etc.; cf. 1,3 quippe qui. **frustra erat**: "was unsuccessful;" the predicate adverb with esse, though found in many writers, is especially frequent in colloquial speech. It is used freely by Sallust, even with the less common adverbs abunde (14,18; 63,2) and frustra—the latter usually with things (61,1; 71,5, etc.), but with personal subject (85,6).

7. **huc accedebat**: "to these (i.e. the qualities enumerated) were added." **munificentia . . . sollertia**: "generosity and shrewdness;" chiasmus. **quis**:=quibus; in prose usually found in colloquial and archaic style. There are fourteen examples (dative and ablative) in this monograph, but none from 28,4

to 66,4. **multos ex Romanis**: superlatives, cardinal numerals, and quidam commonly take a preposition (ex, de or in) with the ablative instead of the partitive genitive; cf. 14,12; 19,7; 67,3.

8. 1. **tempestate**: cf. note 3,1. **novi atque nobiles**: cf. 4,7 homines novi; novus without homo occurs also 63,7; 65,5. Scipio's large body-guard was made up of personal friends, most of them eager for wealth. **bono honestoque**: ablative of comparison; cf. 26,2 potiora fide. Neuter adjectives used as abstract substantives are frequent, especially bonus in combinations; cf. 15,3; 20,2; 30,2. **factiosi**: "men of factions." **non mediocrem**: "ambitious;" an emphatic affirmative by denial of the contrary idea is called litotes. **pollicitando**: "by (constantly) assuring him;" cf. 1,3 grassatur. **fore uti . . . potiretur**: for the periphrasis (cf. 61,5; 110,1, etc.) see A. 569,a; G. 248; B. 270,3; H. 619,2 and 3; H-B. 472,c.

2. **donatum atque laudatum**: translate as if coordinate with abduxit; cf. 26,2 excruciatum necat. **pro contione**: "before the assembly," i.e. of soldiers; cf. Tac. Ann. 2,22 laudatis pro contione victoribus. Sallust uses the classic in contione 30,4; 54,1. **publice quam privatim**: i.e. by services to the state rather than to individuals. **insuesceret**: consuescere (cf. 47,1) is more usual with the infinitive. **emi . . . venturum . . . casurum**: governed by a verb supplied (here from monuit); cf. 12,3 venturum; 14,1 habiturum; 14,20 fingere. **permanere . . . artibus**: "remain true to his own character;" for his good traits cf. 7,4. **illi**: Sallust uses ille, not *is*, in indirect statement to replace the pronoun of the second person in the direct; cf. 11,6, etc. In such cases Caesar uses is more often than ille; Livy employs the two pronouns about equally. **venturum**: agrees with the nearest subject; this concord elsewhere only 111,1. **properantius pergeret**: "he proceeded too eagerly," i.e. used bribery; a euphemism=malis artibus uteretur, and in antithesis to permanere . . . in suis artibus. properantius (also 96,2) is rare; cf. Tac. Ann. 2,55. **suamet . . . praecipitem**: praeceps for an adverb is frequent in Sallust with verbs of motion; cf. 31,6 ire; 63,6 dari. The interlocked order is called synchysis.

9. 1. **litteris**: as in Cicero, litterae is used both of official (24,1; 105,1) and private letters (71,4); epistula only of private (71,5). **quas . . . redderet**: purpose.

2. **earum sententia haec erat**: sententia="substance;" cf. 24,1. For the various formulae introducing the letters and speeches, the question of their originality and place in historical composition, see Introd. p. xv. Scipio's letter effectively complements his speech in indirect form (8,2). The expansion thus given to Jugurtha's relations with Scipio, while not properly a part of Sallust's theme, is justified by the light thrown upon the youth and character of the chief personage in the narrative. **idem**: "the same;" "also;" idem (=is+-dem) and *is* are used when an additional attribute or act refers to a person or thing already mentioned. Cf. A. 298,a; G. 310, R. 1; B. 248,1; H-B. 270. **ut . . . sit**: with ut or ne (cf. 13,8) niti is rare. **senatui et p. R.**: so 104,5; 111,1; the regular formula S.P.Q.R. only 21,4; another variation 41,2. **pro**: "as befits;" cf. 11,1 pro tempore; 14,16 pro magnitudine. **en**: "see;" "lo;" cf. Cat. 20,14 en . . . libertas. Frequent in Vergil. **avo suo**: instead of eius, suus="his own," as emphatically opposed to that of others, is often found; cf. 70,2; 73,4. See A. 301,c; G. 309,2; B. 244,4; H. 503,4; H-B. 264,2.

3. **ita esse**: "confirmed." **cum . . . tum**: frequent in Sallust; cf. 49,5; 61,5. **gratia**: "popularity." **beneficiis . . . vincere**: "to win over by kindness;" cf. Livy 24,25,5 et ne beneficio quidem atque honore potuerit vinci. To make friends with Jugurtha was now Micipsa's only course since he had failed to destroy him. **statimque**: the conjunctions -que, atque, and et frequently sum up and explain what precedes; cf. 2,3 omniaque; 14,11 atque eodem; 31,12 et eidem. Statimque probably refers only to adoptavit, as opposed to heredem . . . instituit, for from 11,6 we learn that Jugurtha was made heir only three years prior to Micipsa's death (118 B. C.), i.e. some twelve years after Jugurtha's return from Spain 133 B. C. **pariter cum**: "on an equality with;" cf. 14,9 parem cum liberis . . . fecisti; but pariter is used of time 68,2; 77,1, etc.

4. **paucos post annos**: indefinite dates are frequent; cf.

10,2 novissume; 12,2 interea; 28,4, etc. interim. **verba . . . habuisse**: more usual is verba facere (33,4; 38,9, etc.) or orationem habere (86,1).

10. Micipsa's speech with Scipio's letter shows Jugurtha on the high plane reached by merit; the speeches of Sulla (102) and Bocchus (110) represent him as struggling against the fall he deserved.

1. **parvom**: the old endings -os, -om, which regularly became -us, -um in classic Latin, were retained till the Augustan period in words in which u (vowel or consonant) preceded these endings; cf. 14,8 avos; 14,15 propinquos; 17,5 saevom. **ego**: its use where no emphasis is demanded is characteristic of a monarch; so its repetition by King Bocchus (110). **amisso patre**: an ablative absolute refers usually to the subject, but here to the object; cf. Cic. Fam. 4,6,1 qui filium. . . clarum virum et magnis rebus gestis amisit. **sine spe, sine opibus**: attributes of te; sine with the ablative is frequently so used; cf. 41,9; 54,6; 66,3. Note the alliteration. **accepi**: refers to Jugurtha's reception into Micipsa's home (cf. 5,7 eodem cultu . . . domi habuit), not to his formal adoption as heir. But of course Micipsa wishes Jugurtha to believe that from the first he intended to grant him all the rights of a son. **me tibi**: cf. 1,4 suam quisque. **si genuissem**: see Appendix; "if I should have children;" this with § 7 aetate . . . prior es (sc. Jugurtha) indicates that Micipsa's children were as yet unborn when Jugurtha entered the royal home. **falsum me habuit**: "disappointed me." There is irony here and elsewhere in the speech. For Micipsa's real feelings cf. 6,2 to 7,2. falsus (classic only as an adjective) is used as a passive participle also 85,20 illi falsi sunt; cf. 85,7 consueta habeam; Cat. 29,1 compertum habebat. The perfect participle with habere emphasizes the continued effect of the result or state expressed by the participle; cf. A. 497,b; G. 238; B. 337,7; H. 431,3; H-B. 605,5.

2. **meque regnumque**: polysyndeton; cf. 21,4 seque illisque; 85,47 meque vosque; 110,8 meque vobisque. The colloquial combination -que . . . -que is frequent in Plautus, Vergil, and Livy. The first prose example occurs in Sallust, who

employs it only when a personal pronoun or demonstrative (cf. 100,5) is the first of the two words connected. **ex amicis amicissumos**: climax. Different forms of the same word, or different words of the same origin are often juxtaposed for effect; cf. 14,7 inops . . . opes; 64,2 omnia omnibus; 79,4 victos victoresque; 110,6 armatos armis; Cic. Lael. 1 ad senem senex de senectute scripsi. **nomen . . . renovatum est**: reference is here made to Masinissa's distinction in the Second Punic War; nomen="fame," as in 18,12 nomen gloriamque sibi addidere. **invidiam vicisti**: metaphors from war and battles are frequent; cf. 14,4; 31,4; 31,6.

3. **per . . . per**: anaphora; cf. 24,10 per maiestatem imperi, per amicitiae fidem. **hanc**: refers to Jugurtha's hand, which Micipsa grasps. **regni fidem**:=regis fidem, "the faith of a king;" refers equally to Micipsa and Jugurtha. **moneo obtestorque**: a favorite combination; cf. 49,2; 62,1. **malis**: not from malus. **alienos**: "strangers."

4. **non exercitus . . . verum amici**: the antitheses (§§ 4-6) and sententiae (§§ 4-7) lend effectiveness and character to Micipsa's speech; see note 2,3; cf. 14,4; 31,26; 85,12. The same thought occurs Xen. Cyrop. 8,7,13 *οὐ τόδε τὸ χρυσοῦν σκῆπτρον τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν διασῶζόν ἐστιν· ἀλλὰ οἱ πιστοὶ φίλοι σκῆπτρον βασιλεῦσιν ἀληθέστατον καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον*, "it is not the golden scepter that preserves a kingdom, but faithful friends are to kings their truest scepter." **queas**: cf. note 1,2 invenias. **pariuntur**: "are won;" cf. 31,17 maius dedecus est, parta amittere quam omnino non paravisse.

5. **quis, etc.**: rhetorical (deliberative) questions are frequent in the speeches; cf. 14,9 (three examples); 14,15 (two); 14,17 (five); 31,11-16 (nine). For the mood see A. 444,a and Note; G. 464; B. 162,3; 277,a; H-B. 235; 545. **hostis**:=inimicus when used of a friend openly hostile; cf. 14,17; 81,1.

6. **equidem ego**: cf. 85,26, "I for my part;" the emphasis on ego shows that the part enjoined on those addressed was to preserve intact the regnum traditum. equidem is colloquial and found only in the letters and speeches; it is never combined with ego by Cicero. **firmum . . . imbecillum**: predicate adjectives.

Note the order. **concordia . . . discordia, etc.**: anaphora with antithesis. The thought early became a proverb; cf. Seneca, Epist. 15,2,46; Orosius 2,17,17 concordia minimas res crescere, discordia maximas labi.

7. **ante hos**: "more than these;" cf. 15,1. ante of priority in degree is not found in Cicero or Caesar. **qui . . . prior es**: causal relative; always with the indicative in Sallust; cf. 31,2; 85,9. **ne aliter . . . eveniat**: euphemism; Micipsa fears disaster for his kingdom. **opulentior**: a variation for plus potest. **facere**: sc. iniuriam.

8. **colite, observate**: "cherish and honor;" for the double expression cf. 1,3 pollens potensque. Asyndeton with imperatives is found also 110,4 sume, utere; with historical infinitives 30,3 hortari, monere, ostendere; with historical present 85,41 ament, potent. **talem hunc**: the more usual order is hunc talem; for talem cf. 6,3. **liberos**: the plural is used by zeugma with sumpsisse as well as with genuisse.

The civil war in Numidia: (a) before the intervention of Rome (chapters 11-16).

11. 1. **aliter**:=alia, adverb for the neuter plural, as 24,5 supra; 85,27 bene. **animo agitabat**: "was meditating;" cf. 63,1. In the same sense agitare is found without animo 93,2; 113,3. **pro tempore**: "suitably to the occasion." **respondit**: no formal speeches are ascribed to Jugurtha, notwithstanding opportunities for such. Reasons for the omission are apparent. He is sufficiently characterized, favorably by Scipio (chapter 9) and Micipsa (10), and unfavorably by Adherbal (31). He was not fond of speaking (6,1), and relying on presents and bribes, he, like his messengers (15,1), would likely have spoken but few words. He delivers no speech before his army, for only a republican or a democrat, like Catiline or Sertorius, not a despot like Jugurtha with slaves for soldiers, would be expected to speak under such circumstances. **paucis post diebus**: everywhere else in such expressions Sallust uses either post with the accusative (9,4; 42,1, etc.), or the ablative without post (13,6; 35,9, etc.).

2. **postquam . . . fecerant**: with postquam the perfect or the historical present is usual; the pluperfect or imperfect is not common until Sallust and Livy. **iusta**: sc. funera; cf. Caes. B. G. 6,19 iustis funeribus confectis. **reguli**: "princes;" diminutive of limited power; frequent in the historians, but not in Cicero or Caesar.

3. **minumus**: natu, usually found in expressions of age (cf. 25,4), is omitted also when filius or filia is added; cf. Livy 1, 53,5 filius . . . qui minimus ex tribus erat. **materno genere impar**: found again 108,1; cf. Tac. Hist. 2,50 maternum genus impar. **assedit**: the transitive use of assidere occurs nowhere else in the classic period. **foret**:=fieret; so in 94,1 ut . . . nisusque per saxa facilius foret.

4. **fatigatus**: "tired out," i.e. prevailed upon; here, as often (14,20; 73,2; 111,3), without precibus; with suppliciis 66,2.

5. **iacit**: "threw out the suggestion;" governing the accusative with the infinitive found elsewhere only Livy 6,14,11. **parum . . . valuisse**: "had been impaired in mind."

6. **adoptatione**: rare but classic for adoptione; cf. Cic. Tusc. 1,14,31 adoptationes filiorum.

7. **verbum**: "remark;" in this sense found frequently in colloquial speech. **ratus erat**: i.e. prior to the events which (subsequently) showed his resentment, therefore the pluperfect.

8. **parare**: used absolutely, as in 60,1; 76,4. Sallust employs more verbs absolutely than any other classic author; cf. 13,7 incessit; 13,9 confidunt; 14,7 impetrandum. **cum animo, etc.**: cf. note 6,2.

12. 1. **memoravi**: frequent in the historians and poets for commemoravi, which is generally used by Cicero.

2. **alius alio**: (the princes) . . . "one in one place, one in another;" alius and alter repeated in different cases express a reciprocal relation in the form of an elliptical double statement; cf. 14,15 alium alia clades oppressit; 42,4 alteri alteros vincere . . . volunt.

3. **Thirmida**: unidentified. **proxumus lictor**: i.e. chief attendant; the term properly designates the Roman lictor highest

in rank, who immediately preceded the magistrate upon whom he attended. Historians frequently apply Roman terms to the customs and institutions of foreign peoples; cf. 49,2 turmas et manipulos; 65,1 secundum heredem; 71,5 clientis. **carus acceptusque**: this combination also 108,1. But clarus is found with acceptus 70,2, as also Tac. Ann. 12,29. **ille**: sc. Jugurtha. **quem . . . oblatum**: "and this man, a helper thrown in his way by chance." **casu**: continues forte . . . utebatur. **referebantur**: repeated action. **ubi res postularet**: i.e. at the favorable opportunity.

5. **divorsi . . . quaerere**: "went different ways in quest of;" cf. 87,4 divorsi . . . abeunt. For the adjective used as an adverb cf. 6,3 transvorsos agit. **dormientis . . . effringere**: chiasmus within clauses which are also chiastic; three pairs in chiasmus are found also 60,4; 100,3. **occursantis**: "opposing;" lit. "coming in the way." **omnia miscere**: "threw everything into confusion;" cf. Verg. Aen. 2,486 domus . . . gemitu miseroque tumultu miscetur. **cum interim**: the so-called cum inversum construction (frequent in Sallust), in which the clauses are so inverted that cum stands in the clause logically the principal one. See A. 546,a; G. 581; B. 288,2; H. 600,I; H-B. 566,a. **tugurio**: ablative of instrument. **pavidus**: cf. 60,4; 103, 4; rare except in poetry and post-classic prose. **mulieris ancillae**: the substantive employed as an attributive is found also 58,5 exercitu victore; 64,1 contemptor animus. This usage (largely archaic and poetic) is infrequent in prose until after Livy. Cf. also I Kings, 17,9 "a widow woman."

13. 1. **facinoris**: cf. note 2,2. **invadit**: frequent with the simple accusative, as in Livy, while Cicero invariably uses in. **illum alterum**: ille is often added to alter when the second of two persons or things is emphatically contrasted.

2. **partim . . . alias**: a variation of partim . . . partim or alias . . . alias, and used freely by Sallust; cf. 19,5; 21,2, etc.

3. **fortunis**: "misfortunes," as 14,24; 24,4; fortuna is comparatively rare in this sense; cf. Hor. Sat. 2,8,85 ut arte emendaturus fortunam.

4. **proelio**: proelium usually means a skirmish between the

separate divisions of armies; pugna (properly "fist-fight") is the general word for conflict, whether between individuals or armies, with weapons or with words. **provinciam**: i.e. the Roman province of Africa, the territory taken from Carthage after its fall 146 B. C.

5. **patratis consiliis**: patrare=perficere is archaic; cf. Cato. R. R. 54 ubi sementim patraveris, glandem parari legique oportet. The word was avoided by Cicero and Caesar, but used freely by Sallust and Livy. **neque . . . usquam nisi**: "and in nothing except;" after negatives expressed or understood nisi is more common than si non. **avaritia nobilitatis**: cf. 3,4 potentiae paucorum.

6. **paucis diebus**: i.e. after Adherbal (13,4) victus ex proelio profugit. **quaecumque possint**: sc. parare. **largiundo**: absolutely, "by lavish giving."

7. **hospitibus**: "their hosts;" probably Jugurtha had become intimate with these in Numantia. **incessit**: "took place." **in gratiam . . . veniret**: "was esteemed and favored by the nobility;" for the periphrasis for the passive cf. 7,4. **favorem**: opposed to invidia also 73,4. The word is frequent in prose and poetry after the Augustan period, but was used with caution by Cicero; cf. Sest. 54,115 rumore et, ut ipsi loquuntur, favore.

8. **quorum**: by synesis referring to nobilitas; so to familia (14,6); numerus (38,6); equitatus (95,1). **pars . . . alii**: another variation in correlatives (cf. § 2) frequent in Sallust, in every case of which the words are arranged in anaphora; cf. 31,13; 51,1, etc. **ne gravius consuleretur**: "that no severe decree," etc.; cf. Caes. B. G. 1,20 ne quid gravius in fratrem statueret.

9. **confidunt**: rarely used absolutely as here. **senatus datur**: i.e. a hearing in the senate. **utrisque**: the plural because referring both to Adherbal and to Jugurtha's messenger; so to each of two parties 15,2; 18,12; 22,5.

14. Adherbal's speech here and letter (chapter 24) are personal appeals to the senate. These, like the character sketch (20,2f.), represent him as unwarlike, irresolute, weak and dependent, a fit subject for injustice withal. A man of words and

tears, not of deeds, he appeals to the Romans for aid by goading their egotism, and by recalling the services of his ancestors.

1. **patres conscripti**: in speeches the names of those addressed are regularly inserted after one or more words; so by Adherbal himself 24,2, and always by Cicero. The name of address placed at the beginning indicates great deference, as in 102,1 Rex Bocche, and in Livy's speeches to divinities; cf. 1,10,6 "Iuppiter Feretri," inquit, "haec tibi victor Romulus rex," etc. Moreover, the relative frequency with which the address is used indicates a greater or less degree of submissiveness. In Adherbal's speech patres conscripti occurs ten times; Memmius (31) employs Quirites four times, while the same address is used by Marius (85) ten times. **tantum modo**: "only;" with the same meaning tantum alone is found § 20; 26,1. **procurationem**: "administration." **ceterum**: cf. note 2,4. **ius et imperium**: "rightful sovereignty;" cf. Cat. 20,7 ius atque dicionem. Double expressions in Sallust (cf. 1,3 pollens potensque) occur about twice as often in the speeches as in the ordinary narrative; cf. § 18 societates neu foedera; § 19 secunda et oboedientia; 31,2 ignavia atque socordia; 31,18 non manu neque vi, etc. **cognatorum**: cognatus="related by blood;" affinis="related by marriage;" propinquos (cf. § 15)="relative," a general term embracing both. **loco ducerem**: "I should regard as," lit. "in the place of;" where locus, numerus, pars, etc. are used in a transferred sense the preposition *in* is often omitted; cf. 61,1 suo loco; Cat. 58,5 quo loco res nostrae sint . . . intellegitis; Caes. B. G. 6,21 deorum numero solos ducunt, etc. **in vostra amicitia**: this use of the preposition in is rare; cf. Livy 26,43,3 in una urbe (sc. una urbe capta) universam ceperitis Hispaniam.

2. **agitarem**: "was striving to carry out." **ab stirpe, etc.**: i.e. from birth, as the grandson of Masinissa, to whom the title socius atque amicus had been given by the Romans. Adherbal adroitly keeps before his hearers his relation to Masinissa; cf. §§ 6; 18; 24,10.

3. **vellem**: potential subjunctive of the past, with unreal condition involved, as in 60,4. In 17,2 (narraverim) the condition is understood as still possible. **posse me**: see Appendix.

ac maxume, etc.: "and if possible." **secundum ea . . . uterer**: "next after these (i.e. the two wishes given) that if I were forced to need them, I might receive them as my due." By Sallust and Caesar, and often by Livy, secundum is used in its etymological sense of rank; cf. Caesar, B. G. 1,33 et secundum ea multae res eum hortabantur. For the mood of desideranda erant see A. 517,c; G. 597 R. 3(a); B. 304,3; H. 525,I; H-B. 582,3,n.1.

4. **parum tuta . . . est**: "affords too little safety for and in itself." **per se ipsa**: cf. note 4,8. **mihi in manu fuit**: "in my power;" cf. § 13; Ter. Hec. 667 uxor quid faciat, in manu non est mea. **foret**:=futurus esset; in this original sense also 65,2; Cat. 21,1. **cogor**: by zeugma with usui esse; some verb like possum is demanded by the sense.

5. **petunda**:=expetunda; i.e. Rome was too sorely pressed by Carthage to be of any assistance to her Numidian allies.

6. **quorum**: cf. note 13,8.

7. **ad impetrandum**: absolutely, "for obtaining my request." **quod**: explains miserandam fortunam. **deformatus aerumnis**: "humbled by misfortunes;" deformare is ordinarily used of a person or thing whose physical appearance is marred; cf. Verg. Georg. 4,254 voltum macies deformat; Cic. Verr. 4,55,122 parietes. . . nudos ac deformatos reliquit. **genere, fama atque copiis**: with several coordinate words the conjunction is regularly expressed with all (or all except the first), or else it is omitted with all; atque connects the last two members also 64,1; so que 77,3; et 18,4; 85,41; 95,3. **inops . . . opes expecto**: observe the contrast and cf. note 10,2 ex amicis amicissumos; Adherbal is resourceless, yet on the resources of another dependent; cf. Hor. Od. 3,16,28 magnas inter opes inops. **erat**: cf. § 3 desideranda erant. **maiestatis**: predicate genitive.

8. **avos**: cf. note 10,1 parvom. **in mea iniuria**: when used by Sallust with iniuria a possessive pronoun or a dependent genitive always stands for an objective genitive: cf. § 19 sociorum; 20,4 suas.

9. **hucine, etc.**: "is it to this end?" etc.; cf. note 10,5 quis. **parem cum**: par (regularly governing the dative) is used with

cum and the ablative also by Cicero and Livy. **is potissumum**: "he above all others." **ferro**: freely, "strife."

10. **incolumes**: "unsubdued." **iure**: i.e. since Numidia was an ally of Rome. **hostes . . . vos . . . spes**: asyndeton is frequent in this chapter; cf. §§ 11;17 patria, domo; 20 niti, ambire, fatigare. **pestis**: the use of a common noun for a proper, or the reverse, is called antonomasia; cf. Cic. Sest. 14,33 ab illa furia ac peste patriae (i.e. Clodius). **pacem agitabamus**: "we enjoyed peace." agitare is the most common of all the frequentatives in Sallust. Often, as in the sermo plebeius, it differs little from agere. Note its shades of meaning: esse (29,4 and 7; 54,2); vivere (19,5); habitare (18,9); cunctari (81,4); se gerere (63,5; 74,1); praesidere (55,4; 85,33). **nisi forte**: without irony; cf. note 3,4.

11. **sese ecferens**: "exulting;" when before f, ec for ex is occasionally preserved through the time of Cicero. **fratre . . . interfecto**: contrary to the rule the ablative absolute is here identical with a case (eius) dependent on the object of the main clause.

12. **praedicantem**: "declare;" with the participle, verbs of sense express actual physical perception; cf. Cat. 48,9 ipsum Crassum ego postea praedicantem audivi; so videre (14,21); animum advortit (93,2). **ex omnibus**: cf. note 7,7 multos ex Romanis.

13. **quod in familia, etc.**: "what (aid) was in our family's power, it gave;" the chiastic order familia nostra . . . vobis: nos . . . vostra manu emphasizes the justice of Adherbal's appeal. nos is the plural of modesty, as in 17,7; 85,37.

14. **eorum**: i.e. the speaker's two brothers.

15. **quid agam? etc.**: cf. Cic. Verr. 5,1,2 quid agam . . . quo me vertam? **generis praesidia**: "supports of my family," i.e. members who might have aided, hence generis is subjective genitive. **quem**: refers to propinquos, "he whom least of all it became (to do so)—a kinsman," etc. An ellipsis with decere is found also § 22; 49,2. **alium alia clades**: cf. note 12,2. **pars . . . acti**: synesis; the plural with a collective singular is frequent in Sallust, Livy, and later writers; cf. senatus (15,1);

populus (30,3); numerus (35,6); plebes (73,3); equitatus (91, 4). **pauci . . . vitam exigunt**: climax; maeror="deep consuming sorrow of the heart;" luctus="grief as evident in lamentation, mourning," etc.

16. **quae**: used both as object and as subject; cf. 31, 18 quod; 35,3 omnia. **ex necessariis**: "instead of being friendly;" neuter (opposed to advorsa) although referring to Jugurtha, as quae . . . amisi refers to other relatives. **ius et iniurias omnis**: "every right and every act of injustice;" the common attribute is expressed with the last noun only.

17. **honestarum**: "suitable to my station." **infesti**: "hostile;" always in the active sense in Sallust; cf. 23,2; 27,2, etc. **hostilia monumenta**: "reminders of the enmities" (of my forefathers), i.e. incurred in defending Rome. **pluruma**: as predicate, "in large numbers."

18. **societates . . . foedera**: both words are used of political compacts; usually however societas="any alliance for a common interest." foedus="a treaty between states, or between the state and body politic."

19. **volentibus**:=benevolis or propitiis.

20. **transvorsos agat**: cf. 6,3. **de absente**: sc. Iugurtha. **incognita causa**: "while his case is (yet) untried;" cf. Cic. Verr. 1,9,25 causa . . . incognita quidem condemnari nemo potest. **fingere me**: "I state what is false;" supply dicere. **cui . . . manere**: concessive.

21. **quod utinam**: "but would that;" the pronominal force of quod (rarely found with utinam) is here almost lost; cf. Cic. Fam. 14,4,1 quod utinam minus vitae cupidi fuissemus. **simulantem**: repeated with irony, "feigning" (as I forsooth). **ne ille . . . reddat**: "surely he would pay," etc., i.e. if the wish utinam . . . oriatur should prove true. The asservative nē is found also 85,20; Cat. 52,27. In every case, as in the best authors, it is followed by a pronoun. **ferox atque praeclarus**: "exulting and glorying;" everywhere else in Sallust praeclarus has a good sense. **excruciatus**: Sallust is fond of this compound; cf. 26,3; 82,3. He uses also many verbs compounded with ex which differ little from the simple verb; cf. 34,2 exagi-

tare; 69,4 expurgare; 85,39 exornare; 100,4 exaequare. **poenas reddat**: reddere contains the idea of suffering merited punishment; other verbs used with poenas are 68,3 capere; 69,4 solvere; Cat. 18,2 dare.

22. **iam, iam . . . puto**: "now indeed (i.e. more and more) do I believe;" the repetition of iam (epizeuxis) expresses strong feeling; cf. Verg. Aen. 4,371 iam iam nec maxima Iuno. **frater . . . carissume**: the apostrophe likewise betrays Adherbal's great emotion. **unde . . . decuit**=ab eo quem . . . decuit.

23. **amisisti**: used properly with regnum and by zeugma with the remaining objects, "you did not lose a throne but escaped," etc. Note omnis separated by four words from its noun. **rerum humanarum, etc.**: "an example of (the uncertainty of) human affairs." **egens**: cf. note on fortuna (1,3). **cuius**: objective genitive; its antecedent is ego, subject of consulam, "the power over whose . . . depends on the aid of others," i.e. without aid from the Romans he expected to meet the same fate as Hiempsal.

24. **utinam emori**: another evidence of Adherbal's weakness. For the infinitive used as a subject cf. note 31,14 eadem cupere, etc. **neu iure**: see Appendix. **iniuriae**: to give way to his wrongs by self-destruction seems despicable even to Adherbal.

25. **per vos**: some verb, as oro or obsecro, is understood (but often unexpressed) with per in adjurations; cf. 24,10. Note anaphora in the three members with per followed by three imperatives. **quod vostrum est**: a reiteration of what was said § 1. **scelus et sanguinem**: hendiadys, "the crime of bloodshed" (in our family). **tabescere**: the metaphor is frequent of persons, rare of things; cf. Cic. N. D. 2,2,5 videmus ceteras opiniones . . . diuturnitate extabuisse.

15. 1. **causa**: (the merits of) "their case." **paucis**: sc. verbis. **bellum inferentem**: strict accuracy would demand bello illato; the present participle is here used to represent the action as going on immediately before the eyes of the reader. **superatus sit . . . nequivisset**: in indirect discourse after an

historical tense, primary and secondary sequence may be united; cf. 83,1-2. Sometimes too after such a tense the future perfect of direct discourse (regularly changed to the pluperfect subjunctive in indirect) is, for vividness, represented by the perfect; cf. 22,4; 56,4. **ante . . . ponerent**: "value higher than;" in this figurative sense the accusative is an archaism; cf. Ennius (Cic. Cat. Mai. 10) noenum rumores ponebat ante salutem.

2. **utrique**: cf. note 13,9. **fautores**: those (of 13,8) who had been bribed. **depravata**: "corrupted;" the regular plural agreement with magna pars is here changed to singular, to prevent confusion with fautores. **contemnere**: "spoke slightingly;" the opposite of extollere; cf. Cic. Mur. 7,15 contempsisti L. Murenae genus, extulisti tuum. **alieno scelere, etc.**: "guilt and infamy of another;" scelus="a malicious deed, with emphasis on its impiety and wickedness;" flagitium="a scandalous act, with emphasis on the self-disgrace involved."

3. **bonum et aequom**: cf. note 8,1; closely combined into one idea, hence singular verb; see note 5,2 and cf. 39,5 licentia atque lascivia; 55,7 fuga atque formido. **Scaurus**: a stanch supporter of the aristocratic party; he headed a second commission to Africa during the siege of Cirta (25,4), was bribed together with Bestia by Jugurtha (29,3f.), and had himself appointed one of the three commissioners to inquire into all the transactions with Jugurtha (40,4).

5. **famosam**: regularly in a bad sense until the Augustan period. **veritus**: the perfect participle of deponents is often used in the sense of our present; cf. 25,4 usus; 69,1 ratus; 76,1 moratus. **solet**: sc. fieri; so 25,3; 59,3. **polluta licentia**: "shameless corruption;" polluta (lit. "defiled") is here extended to moral debasement. **consueta lubidine**: Scaurus' "ruling passion" was avarice.

16. 1. **vero**: "the right;" the dative of a neuter adjective used as a substantive is rare; other cases are frequent.

2. **obtinuerat**: "had ruled over;" Sallust and Livy frequently use the indicative in a clause which depends on a subjunctive or an infinitive. Such a secondary clause is usually one of definition, circumlocution, or independent statement

on the part of the author; cf. 54,1; 63,1, etc. **L. Opimius:** led the attack against the Gracchan party 121 B. C. In this and in the ensuing prosecutions 3,000 men are said to have lost their lives. Later Opimius was condemned for taking bribes from Jugurtha (40,5), and was driven into exile. **acerrume . . . exercuerat:** "had cruelly prosecuted the victory," etc.

3. **accuratissume:** "with the most studied courtesy." **fama, fide:** governed by the comparative idea in anteferret= potius duceret. It is quite the manner of Sallust to change a construction (cf. § 1 vero . . . anteferebat). **perfecit . . . anteferret:** note the unusual change in subject, with nothing to indicate it except the context.

4. **eadem via:** i.e. dando et pollicendo. via is used in the metaphorical sense also 1,3; Cat. 11,2. **capit:** "won over."

5. **Mauretaniam:** a division of northwest Africa, separated from Numidia by the river Muluccha. It corresponds closely to the modern Morocco. **illam alteram:** cf. note 13,1. **usu:** "real worth." **possedit:** "took possession of;" the causative of possideo is found also 18,11 and 12; 48,3.

The Geography and Ethnology of Africa—an excursus (chapters 17-19).

17. Sallust follows Cato's example in the Origines in inserting such excursuses. Doubtless Sallust in turn influenced Tacitus; cf. the description of Britain, Agricola, chapters 10-13. In addition to two other main digressions (41-42; 79), the Jugurtha contains a number of less important ones; cf. 37,4; 48, 3; 79,6; 89,4; 92,4.

1. **Africae situm . . . et eas gentis:** cf. Tac. Agric. 10,1 Brittaniae situm populosque. Sallust's account is limited to the northern part, from Egypt to the Atlantic. The name Africa, originally meaning only the Roman province (i.e. the territory around Carthage) was gradually extended to the whole continent, called Libya by Greek writers. **exponere:** instead of a clause, Sallust occasionally uses the infinitive after such verbs as postulare, monere (19,2); dehortari (24,4), etc.

2. **asperitatem:** "ruggedness," as in 50,6, but "barrenness" (75,10); in the figurative sense of "difficulty," "peril,"

etc. (29,1; 67,3, etc.). **solitudines**: also governed by ob. **minus frequentata**: "but little visited;" for the agreement cf. 3,1 cupiunda. **haud . . . narraverin**: "I could scarcely give an account resting on facts;" haud goes with facile. With but one exception (110,8) haud is always used by Sallust with adverbs and adjectives.

3. **in parte tertia**: i.e. as a third continent; ponere with *in* and the ablative is infrequent in classic authors; cf. Cic. Att. 5,11,6 te in maxima gratia posui. **pauci**: either some "verb of saying," or posuere used as such, is to be supplied as a predicate.

4. **ea**: sc. Africa. **fretum nostri maris et Oceani**: i.e. the Straits of Gibraltar. The Mediterranean was called nostrum mare, but Sallust (18,9) speaks of a part of it as mare Africum. The name for the Atlantic was either Oceanus or mare magnum. **declivem latitudinem**: "a broad, sloping tract;" thus the east boundary is not definitely given. **Catabathmon**: cf. *καταβαθμός*, "descent;" the name is here applied to a sandy plateau, beginning east of Cyrenaica on the north coast and gradually sloping towards the valley of the Nile. Greek endings to proper names are found also 18,7 Nomadas; 19,3 Cyrene; Theraeon; Philaenon; 19,6 Aethiopas; 81,1 Persen; 90,3 Tanain.

5. **importuosum**: "wanting in harbors;" not in prose prior to Sallust. Note the repeated ellipsis of est. **arbore**: cf. note 6,1 leonem. **infecundus**: not elsewhere in classic prose; cf. Ovid, Tristia 3,14,34 fons infecundus parvaque vena fuit. **caelo terraque**: similar to the well-known terra marique; cf. Curt. 4,7,6 terra caeloque aquarum penuria est. **aquarum**: the plural lends concreteness, suggesting the various places of scarcity; cf. 37,4 hiemalibus aquis.

6. **salubri corpore**: salubris=sanus or validus, and used of the human body, occurs first here; later in Livy, and Tacitus. **nisi qui**:=praeter eos qui. **interiere**: i.e. before a natural death could overtake them. The use of the perfect is logical. **malifici generis**: "of a harmful kind;" ad hoc, etc. adds somewhat loosely the thought that large numbers bestiis interiere.

7. **habuerint**:=habitaverint or coluerint. A close parallel is Tac. Agric. 11,30 Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint.

Sallust alone of classic writers uses habere in this sense. **plerosque obtinet**: "prevails among many;" we should expect apud plerosque, or plerumque. The usual idiom is fama tenet, or obtinet used absolutely, as in 80,7. **divorsum est**: "is different"; i.e. Sallust's account is; the real subject is the content of the clauses qui . . . habuerint, etc. **Hiempsalis**: i.e. Hiempsal II, king 104—81 B.C. He was the father of Juba, well known for his defeat at Thapsus in the civil war between Caesar and Pompey. **interpretatum est**: deponents used as passives are numerous; cf. 25,2 enisus; 31,8 ulcisci; 50,4 ludificatus; 101,9 adeptam. **nobis**: cf. 14,13 and notice also the change to the singular dicam. While proconsul in Africa (Introd. p. ix) Sallust doubtless learned its history. **fides . . . erit**: "for the truth of the narrative its authors shall be responsible;" a formula used by writers who refuse to assume responsibility for a story repeated by them; cf. Seneca, Quaest. Nat. 4,3 illi cum . . . unam aliquam rem nolunt spondere, sed adiciunt; "penes auctores fides erit."

18. 1. **ferina**: cf. 89,7; adjectives in -inus, often derived from the names of animals, are especially frequent in the sermo plebeius.

2. **vagi, palantes**: often used together; cf. 44,5; Livy 21, 61,2. vagari="to roam purposely;" palari (frequent in poetry) ="to wander in separate parties." **coegerat**: sc. habere.

3. **multis . . . petentibus**: the two parts of an ablative absolute are sometimes separated by the subject of the main clause —especially by quisque—in order to make that subject more emphatic; cf. Livy 32,24,4 relictis suis quisque stationibus. **sibi quisque**: exactness would require the ablative quibusque. But sibi quisque, as a kind of stereotyped phrase, is used in the ablative absolute unchanged. Note too its virtual identity with the subject of the main clause; cf. note 14,11 fratre meo . . . interfecto.

4. **ex eo numero**: by attraction for ex eorum numero; eo refers to variae gentes. **Medi, Persae, etc.**: the account here is probably mere tradition based on the early invasion of Northern Africa by Eastern tribes. **et**: cf. note 14,7 genere, fama atque

copiis. **locos**: loci="distinct and separate spots" is often used by Sallust (30,1; 66,1) for loca meaning connected places, as "districts," "localities," etc. In this sense loci is not found in other classical authors.

5. **intra Oceanum magis**: "more toward the ocean;" i.e. the northwest part projecting out into the Atlantic.

6. **ignara**: passive as 52,4 regio hostibus ignara, and 49,5 incerti.

7. **Nomadas**: cf. νομάδες, "seeking pasture," hence "wandering."

8. **mapalia**: "huts;" a varying form is magalia; cf. Verg. Aen. 1,421.

9. **accessere**: "settled next to;" it may mean "united with." The verb more often governs the accusative; cf. 20,3; 62,1, etc. **propius**: propior and proximus are often construed, like prope, with the accusative; cf. 49,1 and 6. **mare Africum**: cf. note 17,4. **agitabant**:=habitabant; cf. 14,10. **ardoribus**: abstract for the concrete, sc: zona torrida. **eique**: as ei preceding, refers to Libyes. **freto**: (only), "by the strait;" opposed to mare magnum, which separated the Persae (§ 6). **instituerant**: i.e. Libyes and Hispani (supplied from ab Hispania).

11. **Persarum**: i.e. the amalgamated race of Persians and Gaetulians. **possedere**: cf. note 16,5; the subject is Persae, supplied from Persarum. **Carthagine**: proxumus with an ablative used as the starting point from another place is confined to Sallust. **appellatur**: agrees with the predicate Numidia.

12. **utrique**: "both branches," i.e. the original and that which emigrated toward Carthage. **nomen gloriamque**: hendiadys. **magis ei**: sc. addidere, i.e. they easily won territory from the Libyans, while the parent state found stubborn foes in the unassimilated tribes of the Gaetuli. **bellicosi**: sc. erant; ellipses of forms of esse are rare in dependent clauses.

13. **inferior**: "low-lying," i.e. along the Mediterranean; cf. 19,5 super. **pleraque**: the singular also 54,9; 85,21. Cicero uses only the plural of this word. The form plerusque, just as ceterus, posterus, etc. is not found in Latin. **in gentem** . . .

concessere: "were merged in the nation and name," etc. Cf. Cat. 20,7 res publica in paucorum potentium ius . . . concessit.

19. 1. **gratia**: in this construction causa is more frequent in nearly all the historians except Sallust and Nepos. **sollicitata, etc.**: "after inciting the common people," etc. sollicitatis is to be supplied with avidis. **originibus**: "mother cities;" abstract for the concrete, as Livy 38,39,10 originum memoria; Verg. Aen. 12,166 pater Aeneas, Romanae stirpis origo.

2. **nam**: regularly explanatory; often it implies an ellipsis of something necessary to the sense, as here, (I say nothing of Carthage so famous) "for," etc. Cf. 24,9; 31,2, etc. **alio**: adverb, "to other topics." **properare**: cf. note 17,1 exponere.

3. **secundo mari**: ablative absolute, "along the coast," (lit. "the sea following,"), i.e. as one travels from east to west. **colonia Theraeon**: Cyrene was a Greek colony founded by people from Thera, one of the Cyclades; cf. Herod. 4,150. The Greek genitive plural ending -on is preserved only in proper names; cf. Catull. 66,48 ut Chalybon omne genus pereat. **Philaenon arae**: cf. 79,10. **vorsus**: rarely used as a post-positive preposition; elsewhere in Sallust (58,4; 69,1; Cat. 56,4) the adverb vorsum (vorsus) is used following an accusative governed by ad or in. **post**: i.e. next in order.

4. **Hispania**: cf. note 18,11 Carthagine.

5. **super**: "above," i.e. more inland, hence higher and to the south. **incultius vagos agitare**: "live a less civilized and vagrant life;" for agitare cf. note 14,10.

6. **ardoribus**: the plural intensifies the effect produced, as often with irae, formidines, gaudia, etc.

7. **igitur**: resumes after the digression in describing Africa. **ex Punicis oppida**:=ex Punicis oppidis; cf. 30,4 unam ex tam multis orationem eius. **quos . . . habuerant**: sc. Carthaginienses. Carthage's possessions were, at the close of the Third Punic War (146 B. C.), formed into the Roman province of Africa. **Muluccham**: the boundary between Numidia and Mauretania. flumen is the common word for river, with the idea of flowing water; fluvius is also an ordinary stream (opposed to pond, lake, etc.), but much less frequent than flumen; amnis is usually a

broad, deep, ship-bearing river. **rex Bocchus**: father-in-law of Jugurtha (cf. 80,6), whom he finally betrays (113). **cetera**: this use of the adverbial accusative plural with adjectives does not occur in Cicero or Caesar.

8. **ad necessitudinem rei**: "to meet the requirements of my narrative;" necessitudo=necessitas is found also 48,1; 102,5. Cf. note 2,4 claritudo.

The Civil War in Numidia: (b) after the intervention of Rome (chapters 20-26).

20. 1. **diviso regno**: cf. 16,5. **Numantiam**: apud of place, especially with proper names, is rare except in comedy and in Sallust. **simul et**: "at the same time also;" in Sallust simul is frequently used out of its natural position before the first of the two members coordinated; cf. 25,5; 53,7, etc. **quos**: the ten Roman commissioners; cf. 16,2.

2. **acer, bellicosus, etc.**: asyndeton with adjective pairs, as 44,1. **opportunus iniuriae**: "open to injustice;" cf. Livy 28,19,8 ne quis umquam Romanum civem militemve opportunum . . . iniuriae duceret.

3. **invadit**: the narrative passes quickly over the years between the division by the commission (about 117 B. C.) and Jugurtha's attack (112 B. C.). Cf. Livy, Epit. 64.

4. **convortit**: intransitive as in 101,6. Observe the effectiveness here of five clauses in anaphora; so six (44,5); four (54,6; 59,1; 80,2). **suas**: sc. Adherbalis; direct reflexive, as in 81,3.

5. **questum**: the supine in -um is frequent in early Latin, restricted in Cicero and Caesar, but common in Sallust and Livy. **bellum sumere**: found first in Sallust as a variation of arma sumere, and possibly modelled on Thucyd. 3,39,3 πόλεμον ἤραντο; cf. Livy 1,42,2; Tac. Agr. 16,1. The opposite phrase, bellum ponere—also first in Sallust—occurs 112,1. **temptatum**: sc. bellum; cf. 13,3f. **secus cesserat**: a euphemism, as 25,10 secus procedit.

6. **neque, etc.**: "but Jugurtha's eagerness was not," etc.: neque with the same adversative force 31,27; 46,6. **animo iam**

invaserat: i.e. he had already set his heart on it. Cf. Cic. Verr. 1,51,135 qui iam spe et opinione praedam illam devorasset.

7. **uti antea**: cf. § 3. **praeditoria**: adjectives in -orius are rare in classic authors.

8. **praedas agere**: the same phrase 32,3; 44,5, etc. The collective plural denotes the different kinds of booty, or the various places where secured.

21. 1. **Cirtam**: the capital of the Numidian kings, today called Constantine in honor of Constantine the Great, by whom it was restored. According to Strabo (17,3,13) and others, it was well inland, as it is today—some forty miles. Sallust's statement haud longe a mari is doubtless relative to the great territory covered by his narrative. This explains also its inclusion among the oppida marituma (cf. 100,1; 102,1).

2. **diei extremum**: the partitive genitive with the neuter singular of adjectives employed as substantives is frequent in Sallust, Livy and later writers; cf. 48,3; 90,1, etc. Sometimes the substantive is itself governed by a preposition; cf. 37,4; 93,2. **obscuro . . . lumine**: "when the (day) light was yet dim;" cf. Sallust, Hist. 4,40 lumine etiam tum incerto. Properly lumen="a body diffusing light;" lux="light diffused." **semisomnos . . . funduntque**: chiasmus and alliteration mark the surprise and confusion; fugant funduntque is an inversion of the usual order; cf. 52,4; 58,3. **ni**: ni found in early Latin and poetry, but in classic authors mostly confined to legal formulae and proverbs, reappears frequently in Sallust and later authors. **togatorum**: from toga, the Roman national dress; hence togatus is properly used only of Roman citizens. But here it includes the Italian tradesmen of Cirta; cf. 26,1 Italici; 26,3 negotiatores. **ni . . . foret**: cf. Tac. Ann. 12,16 ni proelium nox diremisset, coepta patrataque expugnatio eundem intra diem foret.

3. **vineis**: as a military term vinea means a shed, resembling a lattice work covered with vines; it was used to protect the besiegers. **turribus**: portable towers, used to command the walls, are meant. **tempus . . . antecapere**: "to anticipate the time of," etc., i.e. before they could return with messages of intervention on the part of Rome.

4. **tres adulescentes**: usually in such cases only men of high political distinction were selected, as when the second commission (25,4) was sent. **verbis**: "on the authority of." **velle et censere**: formal terms; note the chiasmus with senatus populique Romani, velle being used of the resolutions of the people in the comitia, and censere of the decrees of the senate. **de controversiis . . . disceptare**: not in the best Mss., but supported by use elsewhere as an official formula; cf. Caes. B. C. 3,107 (referring to Ptolemy and Cleopatra) de controversiis iure apud se potius quam inter se armis disceptare. **seque illisque**: cf. note 10,2.

22. 1. **maturantes veniunt**: a variation for maturant venire; cf. 44, 6 certantes agere; 52,5 festinans pergit. **audiebatur**: "reports kept coming." **is rumor**:=rumor eius rei. **clemens**: "mild," i.e. less shocking than the facts.

2. **ut ab optumo quoque, etc.**: "to merit the approval of all good men." **malitia**:=malis artibus since it is the opposite of virtute (=bonis artibus) referred to by ob easdem artes; cf. Sen. Epist. 8,81,21 si malitia miseros facit, virtus beatos, etc.

3. **quo plura . . . eo minus**: "the more honorable and energetic his actions had been, the less could his feelings endure injustice."

4. **ab iure gentium**: i.e. from the right of self-defense. **prohibuerit**: cf. note 15,1 superatus sit . . . nequivisset. **utrique**: sc. Iugurtha et tres legati; cf. 13,9. **copia non fuit**: sc. legatis senatus; Jugurtha did not permit them to enter the city.

5. **appellandi**: frequent in the sense of "address;" "interview," etc.; cf. 96,2; 106,1, etc.

23. 1. **loci naturam**: Cirta was built upon a rocky height which rose abruptly on three sides from the river Ampsaga. It was connected with neighboring hills on the south-west, and to this side we must refer all operations against the city, or else conclude that Sallust is merely giving a conventional account of a Roman siege. **turris**: regular fortification towers, built to prevent a sally from the walls, not the portable type of 21,3. **per vim aut dolis**: cf. note 7,1. **temptare**: "made attacks." **formidinem**: when praemia accompanies, formido or metus means

"causes for fear," i.e. threats; cf. 66,1; 89,1. metus="rational fear;" timor="cowardly fear;" pavor="trembling fear;" formido="sudden, panicky fear." **arrigere**:=erigere, as in 68,4; 84,4. Sallust, as later historians, uses compounds differing from those of classic prose; cf. 24,2 subigit; 28,5 praepediebat. **prorsus**: cf. note 2,3 postremo. **intentus**: "eagerly."

2. **miserando, etc.**: "by exciting pity for his own lot." **confirmat**: "encourages." **ad proxumum mare**: superlatives denoting order and succession often designate what part of an object is meant; cf. A. 293; G. 291, R. 2; B. 241,1; H. 497,4; H-B. 244.

24. Adherbal's letter to the senate; cf. chapter 14.

1, **recitatae**: recitare="to read aloud;" legere="to read aloud or in silence," **sententia**: cf. note 9,2.

2. **non mea culpa**: "it's no fault of mine that," etc. **mitto**: absolutely; with oratum it means "send entreaties." **subigit**:=cogit, as 31,4; 44,4. Cf. 23,1 arrigere. **quem . . . invasit**: "who has been seized by," etc.; cf. note 13,1. **exstinguendi me**: the accusative of the personal pronoun with the genitive of a transitive gerund is rare; cf. Cic. Phil. 9,3,6 reficiendi se et curandi potestas fuit. However, the accusative of a substantive, or of a neuter pronoun or adjective, is often found for the sake of euphony, clearness, concinnity, etc. Cf. 50,4; 70,5; 93,3. **neque . . . habeat**: "has no regard for." **sanguinem**: adversative asyndeton.

3. **socius et amicus**: sc. cum sim. **beneficia**: i.e. toward Jugurtha in adopting him; cf. 14,9.

4. **scribere**: cf. note 17,1 exponere. **iam antea**: it is clear from chapter 15 that his former appeal won little sympathy. **fidei**: "protection."

5. **nisi tamen . . . intellego**:=nisi tamen hoc unum scribo me intellegere, etc. As often in colloquial speech, nisi here introduces an ellipsis which forms an exception to a preceding statement. Hence it becomes adversative; cf. 67,3; 100,5. **supra quam, etc.**: "higher than myself," i.e. at the Romans, whom Jugurtha defies in attacking Adherbal. supra is an adverb used

as an object; cf. Pliny, Epist. 1,13 (20), 7 ego contra puto. **gravius**: "more valuable."

6. **quae sane fuerint, etc.**: "let us concede fully that these were wrongs done me, that they in no wise affected you."

7. **vostrum**: opposed to nostrae iniuriae. After the division (16,2f.) Adherbal held, as a dependent of Rome, what had been an inheritance from his father; cf. § 6 patrio regno.

9. **nam**: (I do not overstate my need of your aid) "for," etc.; cf. note 19,2.

10. **ut . . . ostentui essem**: "to be an exhibition of." **deprecor**: "I beg to escape." **per maiestatem**: sc. vos precor. **si ulla**: stronger than si qua; Adherbal's doubtful state of mind implies a negative.

25. 1. **mittundum . . . uti consuleretur**: changed construction with censerent.

2. **fautoribus**: cf. 15,2. **enisum est**: passive; cf. 17,7 interpretatum est.

4. **amplis honoribus usi**: (men) "enjoying high political distinction." **senatus princeps**: the senator whose name headed the censor's list; usually his opinion was asked first on any question under debate.

5. **in invidia erat**: "was one of public odium." **obsecrati**: causal; note the various constructions coordinated by simul et. **Uticam**: capital of the Roman province (cf. 13,4). **ocissume**: rare in classic authors, and not differing from citissume. **accedat . . . missos**: from litteras mittunt a verb of "commanding" is implied with accedat and a verb of "saying" with missos.

6. **contra inceptum . . . venisse**: cf. Cic. Phil. 2,2,3 contra rem suam me venisse questus est. **divorsus agitabatur**: "was urged to opposite courses;" cf. Livy 26,5,1 Hannibalem diversum . . . trahebant curae.

7. **iram**: involves the apodosis ne irasceretur. So (35,1) perituram=peribit. **porro**: "on the other hand;" in this sense only in Sallust and later writers. The usual local meaning "further," "thence" is found 28,6. **rapiebatur**: translate actively, "was hurrying him on."

8. **pravom**: "wicked;" "perverse."

9. **casum**: "favorable opportunity," as in 56,4; rare in this sense except in Tacitus.

10. **secus procedit**: "was unsuccessful;" cf. 20,5 secus cesserat. **quod intenderat**: explained by ut . . . potiretur. **priusquam . . . conveniret**: "before he went to meet."

11. **senati**: an archaic genitive attested also by inscriptions; used by Sallust only with verba and decretum (cf. 40,1). However, with these words the regular form occurs 21,4; 28,3. **frustra**: cf. 28,3 infectis rebus.

26. 1. **defensabantur**: the intensive form (not in Cicero) occurs also 60,3; 97,5. **seque et oppidum**: the combination -que et is not used by Cicero or Caesar, but freely by Sallust and later historians. **tantum . . . paciscatur**: "stipulate only for." **de ceteris**:=quod ad cetera attinet.

2. **potiora fide**: "better than the promise;" cf. 62,9 omnia bello potiora duceret. **penes eosdem, etc.**: "those same men, should he refuse, had the power," etc.

3. **in primis**: "first," as shown by deinde following. **excruciatum necat**: "tortured and put to death;" cf. note 8,2. **necare**="to kill cruelly and wickedly;" trucidare="to butcher;" caedere, etc.="to kill by blows," "cut down;" interimere="to deprive of life," with additional idea of privacy; interficere="to kill in any manner whatever." **uti quisque . . . fuerat**: "as each one offered resistance;" repeated action in past time. See A. 520,2; G. 567; B. 287,2; H.602,2.

The War between Rome and Jugurtha. First Year (111 B. C.): L. Calpurnius Bestia in command (chapters 27-34).

27. 1. **coepta**: the regular construction with a passive infinitive; elsewhere Sallust uses the active coepi, not only where the dependent infinitive is medial (41,10; 92,1), but also passive (Cat. 51,40). **interpellando . . . trahundo**: instrumental with leniebant, which is conative in force. See A. 471,c; G. 233; B. 260,3; H. 530; H-B. 484. **gratia . . . iurgiis**: ablative of manner with trahundo tempus, "by personal influence . . . by disputes." The ablative of the gerund with an object (cf. 85,21; 85,36) is infrequent in prose before Sallust.

2. **ut condonaretur**: "to secure pardon for," etc. **prolatandis, etc.**: "in prolonging the deliberations."

3. **conscientia**: ablative of cause. **delicti**: "remissness." **lege Sempronia**: proposed by C. Sempronius Gracchus 123 B. C. The law provided that the senate should name prior to the election the provinces to which the consuls were to be assigned. Its purpose was to prevent the allotment of lucrative provinces to special favorites. **Italia**: provincia as applied to Italy is here used in the original sense of "magisterial charge;" usually it means conquered territory outside of Italy.

4. **P. Scipio Nasica**: son of the P. Scipio Nasica who, as the senate's leader, put to death Tib. Gracchus (133 B. C.). **L. Bestia**: later condemned and punished under the Lex Mamilia; cf. 40,5.

5. **obvenit**: as evenire (35,3; 43,1), used in the sense of "fall to the lot of," whether the provinces were determined by lot (sortiri), or by agreement between the consules (comparare inter se).

28. 1. **contra spem**: taken with nuntio and=insperato. **venum ire**: "for sale;" venum is an old word, found only with ire and dare (91,6), with which it forms the classic venire and vendere. **in animo haeserat**: i.e. since hearing (8,1) at Numantia that Romae omnia venalia esse. **aggrediantur**: ut after praecipere is omitted only here in Sallust. But so after persuadere (35,2); hortari (54,1; 56,2).

2. **postquam . . . adventabant**: "after (it was known that) these were nearing;" cf. 11,2. The imperfect often describes a state of things evident to the spectator; cf. A. 470, N.; 543,a; G. 562; B. 287,4. **moenibus**: "within the city;" an ablative of place is often regarded as one of means or instrument; cf. 44,4 stativis castris habebat; Caes. B. G. 7,66 ne tecto recipiatur. **eique**: by synesis refers to senatus. **ipsum**: sc. Iugurtham. **in diebus**: an ablative of *time within which* occasionally, for greater precision, takes *in;* so 96,1. But it omits the proposition 38,9. **Italia**: after decedere with names of countries (35,9; 38,9) Sallust omits the preposition, differing from the usage of most authors.

4. **legat sibi**: "chose for his lieutenants." Staff officers (legati) were usually senators, in number varying with the size of the province or the importance of the military undertaking. **natura**: "disposition." i.e. as a natural endowment. **habitu**: "character," i.e. as the result of habits, training, etc.

5. **nam**: explains Bestia's choice of such men for legati. But the principal thought is in the subordinate clause, hence construe: nam quae bonae artes in consule . . . eas omnis avaritia, etc. **praepediebat**: "hindered;" cf. note 23,1 arrigere. **haud ignarus**: litotes for peritissimus.

6. **Siciliam**: preposition (usual before the name of a country) omitted, with same construction as Rhegium; so 33,4 Numidiae=in Numidia. **porro**: cf. note 25,7.

7. **pugnando**: properly with mortalis, but by zeugma with urbis, and=expugnando.

29. 1. **temptare**: supply Calpurnius here as object, and as subject of administrabat. **asperitatem**: cf. note 17,2. **avaritia**: ablative of cause with aeger, "weakened by avarice," i.e. as by a disease.

3. **redimebat**: "tried to secure." **postea vero quam**: a like tmesis Cat. 2,2, as often in Cicero. **participem . . . accepit**: "received Scaurus as an accomplice in the matter." **cum eis**: sc. Calpurnio et Scauro.

4. **fidei causa**: "as a pledge of good faith." Sextius was in fact a hostage to assure Jugurtha of safety in the Roman camp. **species**: "pretext." **acceptio**: "to receive;" this verbal abstract is found but once in Cicero; cf. Topica, 8,37 neque donationem sine acceptione intellegi posse. **palam**: i.e. as a blind to his officers; it marks the official from the secret negotiation, as in 46,4. **legatis**: dative; cf. Caes. B. G. 1,7 provinciae toti quam maximum numerum imperat. **mora**: ablative of cause; it took time to arrange all the details of the sham surrender. **indutiae agitabantur**: "there was a truce;" cf. 14,10 pacem agitabamus.

5. **praesenti consilio**: the general's war council or cabinet was made up of the legati, tribuni militum, chief centurions, and senators who happened to be at hand; cf. 62,4; 104,1. **uti acciperetur**: supply a verb of "asking" from locutus. **per**

saturam: "without orderly procedure," i.e. in confusion, or as a whole, instead of each member being asked in order. From the main idea in satura of "mixture," or "medley" (cf. lanx satura= "a dish of various kinds of fruits") comes the figurative use in per saturam.

6. **multi**: belongs to pecus also.

7. **ad magistratus rogandos**: "to conduct the elections." The consul, as presiding officer, "asked the will of the people," whether he proposed the election of a candidate or the passage of a law (rogare [sc. populum] magistratum, legem, etc.). Note these terms: rogare legem or rogationem promulgare (40,1)= "to propose a law or bill;" rogationem iubere (40,3)="to pass or vote for a bill;" provinciam iubere (84,1)="to assign a province."

30. 1. **gestas . . . actae forent**: a change in construction which is reversed 46,1. **quoque**:=et quo, as rarely; cf. Plaut. Poen. 1235; Cic. Off. 1,2,6 quantum quoque modo videbitur, hauriemus. **locos**: cf. note 18,4. **agitari**: "there were discussions;" the historical infinitive passive, not used by Cicero or Caesar, is frequent in Sallust, and in Livy. **subvorterent**: "annul." **parum constabat**: sc. eis, "they were undecided."

2. **ferebatur**:="dicebatur," with which esse is understood.

3. **libertate ingeni**: "fearless character." **potentiae**: objective genitive. **populum**:=plebem, as often, when unaccompanied by Romanum; cf. 32,1; 41,5; 85,10. **contionibus**: "in public addresses;" so 73,5. For a different meaning cf. § 4, 8,2. **ad vindicandum**: absolutely, as 45,3; 106,6, "to inflict punishment." **hortari, monere, etc.**: for the asyndeton cf. 10,8. **multa superba**: an exception to the rule (cf. 2,4 multae variaeque) that multus is joined by a conjunction to a following adjective of quality. **incendebat**: cf. 27,1 leniebant.

4. **facundia**: not in Caesar or in Cicero, though the latter so often speaks of eloquence; facundia="natural spontaneity and dexterity of speech," i.e. of one lingua promptus; eloquentia= "polished speech as the result of training," i.e. of the perfectus orator. Cicero (Brutus, 36,136) says that Memmius was only a fair orator, but a penetrating and relentless prosecutor. **per-**

scribere: "to give in full," i.e. all the points of his speech, but, of course, not his exact words.

31. The speech of Memmius is a counterpart of that of Marius (chapter 85). Both are impassioned appeals to the people, and bitter denunciations of the nobility; the burden of each is official corruption—the internal enemy of Rome's welfare. Memmius' speech is bold, direct, forceful, concise, in language and tone approaching the vulgar.

1. **multa me dehortantur, etc.**: "many circumstances dissuade me from appearing before you." A close imitation of Cato (cf. Gellius 13,25,15) multa me dehortata sunt huc prodire. **Quirites**: cf. note 14,1 patres conscripti. **ni . . . superet**: the corresponding apodosis is omitted, (and would actually deter me) "unless my devotion to the state," etc. **factionis**: cf. 3,4 potentiae paucorum. **ius nullum**: "the absence of justice;" nullus and nihil are used to form expressions which indicate a lack of something, or which negative qualities for which there are no Latin substantives; cf. 35,2 ex nulla conscientia; Livy 21,4,9 (of Hannibal) nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum ius iurandum, nulla religio.

2. **nam**: explains quod innocentiae . . . est. **piget**: sc. me. **quindecim**: see Appendix. **inulti**: "unavenged;" elsewhere (58, 5; 70,4; 106,6) it means "unpunished." **defensores**: e.g. the Gracchi and their followers. **ut**: "how;" taken with the entire clause, not with corruptus.

3. **ab ignavia**: the preposition is used where abstractions are personified. **obnoxiis inimicis**: ablative absolute, "when your enemies are in your power," lit. "liable to punishment." **qui . . . exsurgitis**: causal; cf. note 10,7 qui prior es. **terrori esse**: sc. vos.

4. **animus subigit**: sc. me; cf. 24,2.

5. **certe ego . . . experiar**: "I at least —." Memmius' pride and self-confidence are thus forcefully contrasted with the submissiveness of those mentioned § 2 f. **ob rem**: "to any purpose," i.e. with success, as the opposition to frustra shows.

6. **quod . . . fecere**: explains uti . . . eatis; cf. § 17 maiores vostri . . . armati Aventinum occupavere. **nihil**: used

like nullus as a strong negation for non; cf. Cic. Rosc. Amer. 37, 107 coniectura nihil opus est; Att. 11,24,4 Philotimus non modo nullus venit. **suomet more**: "by their own conduct;" this is explained §§ 7; 17; 26.

7. **regnum parare**: "aspiring to royal power;" the same charge was brought against other and earlier reformers—Sp. Cassius (486 B. C.); Sp. Maelius (439 B. C.); M. Manlius (384 B. C.). **quaestiones**: "prosecutions." **utriusque cladis**: depends on finem. **eorum**: i.e. the nobiles; they are referred to so often above (cf. §§ 1 and 4 factionis; § 2 paucorum; § 3 inimicis) that the reference is obvious to Memmius' hearers.

8. **sed . . . fuerit**: concessive; the subject is plebi sua restituere. By the agrarian laws of the Gracchi it was proposed to restore to the people a part of the public lands, from which they had been excluded for two hundred years. **paratio**: for comparatio; the only prose occurrence cited. **ulcisci**: cf. 17,7 interpretatum est. **nequitur**: an archaic passive found only with passive infinitives.

9. **taciti indignabamini**: "with suppressed indignation you beheld." **expilari . . . pendere . . . esse**: asyndeton is frequent in this speech; cf. §§ 12; 20; 25. **parum habuere**: "they deemed it not enough."

10. **per ora vostra**: "before your (very) eyes;" cf. Livy 2,38,2 vestros liberos traductos per ora hominum. **proinde . . . habeant**: irony, "just as if they regarded them as (badges of) honor and not as (a result of) plunder." For the mood and tense cf. note 4,8.

11. **servi aere parati**: cf. Hor. Sat. 2,3,129 servosve tuos quos aere pararis. **aere**: "money;" copper was the early currency. **in imperio nati**: strongly contrasted with servi. **vos . . . toleratis?**: passionate questions often omit the interrogative particle; cf. note 10,5 quis.

12. **quibus, etc.**: "who make . . . a source of gain;" asyndeton with climax, as in § 20. Cf. 80,5 quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat.

14. **quam . . . tam**: "the worse each has acted the safer he is;" the use of quam . . . tam with two superlatives for

quo . . . eo with two comparatives is archaic, being found chiefly in Plautus, Terence, Cato, and Varro. **metum . . . transtulere**: elliptical, "the fear (which they should feel) from their own guilt they have shifted to (be felt by you because of) your cowardice." **eadem cupere, etc.**: subject of cogit. An infinitive is rarely used as subject of any personal verb (cf. 85,9), except esse (cf. 14,24). Moreover, the use as subject of an infinitive with a dependent object is rare outside of poetry; cf. Verg. Georg. 1,139 captare feras . . . inventum est; Propert. 4,5,29 et stimulare iram pretium facit.

15. **haec**: agrees with predicate amicitia, etc.

16. **tam . . . quam**: usually found only when the two members of the comparison are alike; tantum . . . quantum would be regular. **quam . . . accensi sunt**: "as they are eager for tyranny." **beneficia**: i.e. state offices, the gift of the people.

17. **bis . . . Aventinum**: the first secession (494 B. C.) was followed by the appointment of tribuni plebis; the second (449 B. C.) resulted in the overthrow of the decemvirs. In both instances the withdrawal was apparently first to the Sacred Mount and then to the Aventine; cf. Sallust, Hist. 1, frag. 11; Cic. Rep. 2,58. That the tradition was uncertain is clear from Livy 2,32,3. **atque**: "and assuredly," sc. vobis nitendum est. atque is used, as frequently in Plautus and Terence, to strengthen an affirmative following a question; cf. Plautus, Men. 149 ecquid audes . . . ? atque hilarissume. **dedecus est parta amittere, etc.**: proverbial; cf. Ovid. Ars. Amat. 2,13 nec minor est virtus quam quaerere, parta tueri; Curt. 4,11,9 facilius est quaedam vincere, quam tueri. **parta**: "won;" "acquired;" from pario, with which paro is used also 10,4.

18. **non manu, etc.**: sc. censeo vindicandum esse. **quod**: cf. 14,16 quae. **indicio**: "evidence."

19. **dediticius est**: "has (really) surrendered." Adjectives in -icius, though found in classic writers, belong especially to folkspeech. **damna atque dedecora**: alliteration; cf. 1,3 pollens potensque.

20. **nisi forte**: cf. note 3,4. **et**: explanatory, as 52,3; 58,3. **illam quam haec**: the period of oppression following the death

of the Gracchi is contrasted with the present time of reaction by the people against the nobility. **cum**:=quibus, ablative of time; cum dates the principal clause, hence the indicative, as in 51,2; 91,1. **regna, etc.**: note the asyndeton with the last two members connected by atque; so 51,1. **paces**: the plural since each bellum is followed by its corresponding pax; cf. Hor. Epist. 1,3,8 bella quis et paces longum diffundit in aevum. **nam**: justifies satis . . . retinere, (a strong statement, but true) "for," etc.

21. **impune**: "without requiting it;" active here, but passive §§ 9; 26, "without punishment." **ni . . . casura esset**: "were not pity certain to end in your ruin."

22. **quantum . . . habent**: "so great is their insolence;" habere used to express possession of qualities is characteristic of the sermo plebeius. **deinde**:=in posterum; join with faciundi (sc. male).

23. **nam**: explains why they must choose between serviundum and per manus retinendum.

24. **in . . . mentibus**=cum tam divorsae sint mentes.

25. **omittatis**: "let pass." **hosti, etc.**: adversative asyndeton.

26. **quaesita erunt**: "shall be investigated," i.e. by criminal prosecutions. **vindicatum**: sc. erit. **nam . . . regem esse**: a sententia (cf. note 2,3) uttered as a bitter reply to the Optimates, who alleged (cf. § 7) that Tib. Gracchus wished to be king.

27. **malitis . . . fecisse**: i.e. to wish them to do wrong for the mere pleasure of punishing them. **perperam**: nearly always combined with recte or iudicare, and frequent in the language of the jurists. **perditum eatis**: the supine with ire, as a periphrasis for the simple verb, is an archaism found also 68,1; 85,42.

28. **bonus tantum, etc.**: another sententia.

29. **ad hoc**: the speech has an inelegant close, with ad hoc in two successive and disproportionate sentences. **si iniuriae, etc.**: another reason for saying that it is less important to reward the good than to punish the bad, i.e. if political crimes (in-

iuriae) were punished, the aid of the upright citizen would seldom be needed. **haud saepe**: litotes for rarissime.

32. 1. **haec atque alia huiusce modi**: a variation of Sallust's mannerism haec atque alia talia (62,2; 64,3; 81,2): **dicundo**: see Appendix. **populo persuadet**:=pertulit rogationem, "had a law passed." **L. Cassius**: later consul with Marius (107 B. C.). His death in this year in a battle against the Helvetians is known from Caes. B. G. 1,7 and 12. **interposita fide publica**: i.e. he was promised immunity from punishment. **quos . . . accersebat**: "whom he accused of receiving bribes;" accersere (lit. "to send for," i.e. for trial) governs the genitive as a judicial verb. For pecuniam capere (also 37,3) we find pecuniam accipere (40,1).

2. **facinora fecere**: cf. note 5,4; the alliteration is strengthened by the preceding flagitiosissuma.

3. **fuere qui**: the notable variety in subjects (qui . . . alii . . . pars) and predicates emphasizes the various forms of corrupt acts. **ex pacatis**: masculine; cf. 88,3 ex sociis nostris praedas agentis.

4. **animos . . . invaserat**: see Appendix.

5. **conscientia**: "consciousness of guilt;" always in this sense in Sallust, whether without (35,4; 85,26) or with mala (62,8). **rebus suis**: "for his safety;" cf. Cat. 45,4 timidus ac vitae diffidens. **ducebat**: "valued," hence minoris is genitive of indefinite value. **talis**: "so excellent;" cf. note 6,3.

33. 1. **contra decus regium**: "contrary to what was befitting in royalty;" repeated 72,2. Cf. Tac. Ann. 2,55 contra decus Romani nominis. **cultu . . . miserabili**: "in a garb as pitiable as possible;" note the emphasis gained in the separation of these words.

2. **vis animi**: "self-confidence." **confirmatus**: the only case in Sallust where tamen is omitted after tametsi in the main clause. The thought is that his accomplices, fearing he might incriminate them, encouraged him to find a way out of giving any testimony whatever. **ius et iniurias**: "justice (i.e. just punishment) and personal violence."

3. **plebes**: more frequent in Sallust than plebs. **more**

maiorum: i.e. by beating to death with rods. **sedare . . . moll ire**: conative in force. **confirmare**: "assured them that." **per se**: "as far as in him lay."

4. **verba facit**: sc. Memmius; cf. note 9,4 verba . . . habuisse. **Numidiaeque**: cf. note 28,6 Siciliam. **velle**: sc. populum Romanum. **magis**: cf. 5,3 quo . . . sint. **habere**: sc. ea; manufesta is predicate. **corrupturum**: "would ruin."

34. 1. **regem tacere iubet**: the tribuni plebis were first appointed during the long contest between the plebeians and patricians, to protect the lower order against the oppression of the higher. To do this they were given the right of interference (ius intercessionis) in any public proceedings considered prejudicial to the interests of the plebeians. **terrebat**: conative. Psychic states afford Sallust welcome opportunities to pass from simple narrative to detailed description, e.g. vacillation (36,3); joy (55,2; 58,8); unrest (72,2); alarm (91,5); enthusiasm (92,2). So, often, actions showing zeal, haste, energy, cunning, foresight, etc. **voltu**: "angry looks." **impetu**: "attempts at violence;" the singular because the plural of 4th declension words is practically limited to the nominative and accusative. **quae . . . amat**: the subject is ira; amare with the accusative and infinitive occurs in no other author. Sallust may have been influenced by Greek analogies, as Thucyd. 2,65,2 *ὅπερ φιλεῖ ὅμαλος ποιεῖν*; 3,81,4 *οἷον φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι*. Cf. Quint. 9,3,17 ex Graeco translata Sallustii plurima, quale est, 'vulgus amat fieri.'

2. **ludibrio habitus**: "made sport of;" a colloquial phrase, e.g. Ter. Hec. 149 eam ludibrio haberi. **exagitabat**: "filled with alarm," i.e. a short time before.

Second Year (110 B. C.): Sp. and Aulus Albinus in command (chapters 35-36).

35. 1. **dissensione regum**: cf. 12,1.

2. **huic . . . persuadet**: "Sp. Albinus who . . . persuades him," etc. Note the omission of ut after persuadere, as after imperare (§ 4). As consul Albinus was in command of the army in Africa this year (cf. 36), and also a part of the fol-

lowing (39,2 f.), since the consular elections for the latter year were delayed (37,1 f.). Later he was convicted under the Lex Mamilia (40,5). **invidia cum metu**: "public odium and fear;" the one because of his past misdeeds, the other through apprehension of future attempts. **urgeat**: "embarrassed;" the singular (so 41,9) is the classic usage with a singular subject combined with another word by cum. However, Sallust, as Livy, prefers the plural; cf. 38,6; 101,5.

3. **movere, etc.**: "to throw everything into confusion rather than for matters to become settled;" for the double use of omnia cf. 14,16 quae.

4. **quae . . . agitare**: "carry out these suggestions," i.e. as to the throne of Numidia. **Bomilcari**: afterwards detected in a conspiracy against Jugurtha (70 f.) and put to death. **imperat**: sc. Iugurtha. **ac**:=et quidem; cf. 92,4; 95,3. **maxume occulte**: "secretly if possible." **sin . . . procedat**: "but if that should fail;" here as elsewhere (1,4; 46,4; 58,3) *sin* is used, although no formally expressed si-clause precedes.

5. **artifices**: "practiced." **egressusque . . . explorat**: "ascertained his goings out."

6. **ex eo numero**: cf. note 18,4. **obtruncat**: this verb (not in Cicero or Caesar) is frequent in Sallust for interficere. **indicium profitetur**: "offered to give evidence;" a court term, like our "turn state's evidence." Cf. Tac. Ann. 6,3,5 summum supplicium decernebatur, ni professus indicium foret.

7. **ex aequo bonoque**: cf. note 8,1 bono honestoque. **comes eius**: represents a causal clause.

8. **manufestus**: "although guilty;" manufestus was used as a legal term for a criminal offense detected in the act; cf. Gellius 11,18,11 manufestum furtim quod deprehenditur dum fit. A number of adjectives besides manufestus are used with the genitive by Sallust as by the poets and later prose authors; cf. insolita (39,1); sciens (85,45, etc.); nuda (79,6); vacuus (90,1).

9. **priore actione**: no account of the preliminary trial is given. **vades**: vas (vadis), "a surety;" "bailsman." **ne . . . parendi sibi**: "lest fear might keep the rest of his subjects from

obeying him;" metus with an objective genitive of the gerund is rare; cf. Livy 21,35,3 insuetis adeundi propius metus erat. **Italia**: cf. note 28,2.

10. **eo**: sc. ad urbem Romam; cf. Cic. Cat. 2,1,2 retorquet oculos profecto saepe ad hanc urbem. **urbem venalem**: accusative of exclamation. **perituram**: cf. note 25,7 iram. The future participle (aside from futurus and venturus) is rare as an adjective, except in the poets and later writers; cf. Verg. Aen. 3,85 da mansuram urbem; Livy 2,10,11 rem ausus plus famae habituram.

36. 1. **ante comitia**: as consul Albinus would preside at the election, since his colleague (35,2 f.) was in Macedonia. **quod**:=quorum and is attracted to the case of tempus. The consular term began January 1, following the election held about mid-summer.

2. **trahere . . . ludificare**: the several chiastic pairs emphasize Jugurtha's vacillation. **metum**: sc. faciendae deditionis. **instanti**: sc. Albino. **ne . . . diffiderent**: "to keep his men from losing courage." **ludificare**: "baffle;" archaic active in place of the classic deponent. Verbs in -ficare are rare in classic writers.

3. **tum**: "even then;" taken with esse understood with Albinum . . . ignarum. **haud ignarum**: litotes. **ex**: "after." **neque crederent**: "and they did not believe . . . that the war was so readily prolonged because of inactivity as (lit. "more than") because of treachery."

4. **pro praetore**: "as commander in charge;" praetor is here used in the early sense of "general," not in the magisterial sense. An officer delegated to act in the general's absence was called legatus pro praetore. **Romam decessit**: elliptical for a provincia decessit et Romam se contulit· cf. English "left (i.e. any given place) for New York."

Third Year (109 B. C.): under the commands of Aulus Albinus (chapters 37-39,5), Sp. Albinus as proconsul (39,5-43), Metellus (43-61,2).

37. 2. **resistentibus**: concessive. **continuare**: i.e. by interrupting the meetings for the selection of new officers.

3. **ea mora**: while Albinus was detained at Rome, Aulus' ambition led him into rashness. **exercitus**: subjective genitive. **mense Ianuario**: i.e. of 109 B. C., which year opened without any consuls having been elected. According to 44,3 the election was delayed until the summer campaign was well over. **ex hibernis**: sc. castris. **hieme aspera**: concessive, and to be taken closely with magnis itineribus. **Suthul**: site unknown.

4. **opportunitate loci**: "advantageous position." **in . . . extremo**: "on the summit of a craggy hill." For the neuter used as a substantive cf. note 21,2 diei extremum. **hiemalibus aquis**: the plural denotes the different occasions of rainfall during the winter. **quo**: contrary to the rule, Sallust and Tacitus use quo in a final clause without a comparative. But note that here formidinem adderet is comparative in sense. **oppidi potiundi**: only transitive verbs can be used in the gerundive construction; but potior and other deponents, as a survival of their original use, are construed like transitive verbs and so govern the accusative. See A. 503, n.2; G. 427, N.5; B. 339,4; H. 623,1; H-B. 613,n. **vineas agere**: "move forward the sheds;" cf. Caes. B. G. 2,12 vineis ad oppidum actis, aggere iacto. **aggerem iacere**: "throw up a mound." This rampart, usually begun some distance from the city, and extended and raised until it commanded the walls, afforded a broad highway on which a storming column could advance. The agger at Avaricum was eighty feet high; cf. Caes. B. G. 7,24. **incepto**: i.e. the siege. **properare**: as a transitive verb found mainly in poetry and later prose.

38. 1. **imperitia**: found also 85,45; 99,1, but in no other author of this period. **missitare**: used first by Sallust and only here. **vitabundus**: "trying to escape;" adjectives in -bundus (an archaism of the sermo plebeius) are rare in classic writers, but frequent in Livy, and late authors of inferior Latinity. **saltuosa**: "wood-covered;" first in Sallust.

2. **pactionis**: Aulus hoped to get Jugurtha's money. **abditas**: "unfrequented," lit. "put away." **ita . . . fuere**: "in this way (i.e. by pursuing Jugurtha in his pretended flight) his failure in duty (relicto Suthule) was less obvious."

3. **diu noctuque**: the archaic diu is found only with noctu. But observe 70,1 die noctuque. **temptabat**: "tried to win over." **transfugerent**: i.e. at once, as opposed to signo dato.

4. **intempesta nocte**: "in the dead of night."

5. Sallust frequently seeks picturesque effect; note the terror of a night attack, bewildered soldiers, blinding darkness, sky hidden by clouds, etc. Cf. 39,1; 43,3; 57,3 f.; 59,2, etc. **confirmare**: "tried to encourage." **trepidare**: sc. milites Romani. **anceps**: i.e. in front and rear since the enemy had surrounded their camp.

6. **ex eo numero**: cf. 18,4. **transiere**: for the plural cf. 35,2 urgeat. **primi pili**: "of the first rank." Up to the time of Marius (157-86 B. C.) the Roman legion, exclusive of light-armed forces, was composed of three ranks, arranged according to length of service—hastati, principes, triarii (veterans); the centurion who commanded the first century of the triarii was called centurio primi pili, or primipilus. **munitionem**: abstract for the concrete, "outpost." **eaque**: sc. parte, or via.

8. **remorata sunt**: "prevented," lit. "delayed;" the object is hostis. Predicate agreement varies in Sallust—here the neuter plural (as 68,1) with two feminine subjects; so the feminine plural 70,2; 73,6.

9. **ipsum**: for eum. **fame et ferro**: zeugma; note the alliteration. **sub . . . iugum**: a sign of humiliating surrender. The iugum is described by Livy 3,28,11 tribus hastis iugum fit, humi fixis duabus, superque eas transversa una deligata. **humanarum rerum**: cf. 14,23. **missurum . . . decederet**: depend respectively on verbs of "saying" and of "commanding" to be supplied from verba facit.

10. **quae**: i.e. the terms proposed. **mutabantur**: i.e. the terms relieved them from the fear of death; metu, ablative of price, denotes what is given up; the subject of mutabantur denotes what is received. For the reverse construction cf. 44,5. In 53,8; 83,1 pro is used with the thing given up.

39. 1. **metus atque maeror**: explained by dolere . . .

timere, following in chiastic order. **insolita**: cf. note 35,8 manufestus. **armatus**: concessive.

2. **ob ea**: for the classical propterea, or quam ob rem. **consul**: inexact; Albinus' term had expired (cf. 37,3 mense Ianuario). But as no election had taken place, he retained command in Africa, as if his term had been prorogued. **foedere**: made by Aulus 38,9. **supplementum scribere**: "enroll recruits;" frequent in Sallust for conscribere. **sociis et nomine Latino**: an almost invariable formula designating the dependents of Rome in Italy prior to their enfranchisement by the Lex Iulia, 90 B. C. The Latins enjoyed rights over the other socii (Italians), and are mentioned in contrast to them.

3. **uti par fuerat**: explains decernit, "as had been fitting." The senate now passes a decree about a matter which it had a right to consider prior to Aulus' agreement. **iniussu**: ablative of cause, as other verbals, e.g. impulsu (70,1); arbitratu (105,1); iussu (90,1; 112,3).

4. **impeditus**: the tribunes mistrusted Aulus' competency and honesty. **Numidia**: deducere nearly always takes de, ex, or ab in Cicero and Caesar.

5. **mederi, etc.**: "to remove (lit. "cure") the odium against his brother." **ardebat**: with the infinitive only here in prose, but frequent in poetry; cf. Verg. 4,281 ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras. **cognitis militibus**: i.e. their demoralized condition. **quo . . . corruperat**: translate passively. For the singular verb cf. 5,2 finem faceret. **praeter fugam**: their flight was such a disgrace as not to be mentioned. **ex copia rerum**: "under the circumstances," lit. "according to the abundance of things."

40. 1. **rogationem . . . promulgat**: "proposed a bill to the people;" cf. note 29,7. **uti . . . quaereretur**: "to institute prosecutions." **senati**: cf. 25,11 with note. **neglegisset**: for the form cf. 6,2. **qui . . . accepissent**: commissioners had been sent to Africa at three different times; cf. 16,1; 21,4; 25,4. For those who accepted Jugurtha's money, cf. 16,3; 29,1 f.; 32,3; 33,2; 34,1; 37,3. **tradidissent**: Bestia's officers; cf. 32,3.

2. **huic rogationi . . . impedimenta parabant**: "hindrances were put in the way of their bill, partly by," etc. **conscii**:

conscius is a vox media, here "conscious of guilt;" cf. 32,5 conscientia. **ex partium invidia**: "in consequence of party hatred." **pericula**: i.e. criminal prosecutions. **quin . . . faterentur**: "without (at the same time) admitting." **illa**: i.e. the acts of § 1, which Mamilius proposed to punish.

3. **plebes**: cf. 33,3. **rogationem iusserit**: "voted for the bill."

4. **suorum fugam**: "dismay of his own party."

5. **exercita**: sc. est, "was conducted." From Cic. Brut. 34,128 we learn that C. Galba, L. Bestia, C. Cato, Sp. Albinus, and L. Opimius were condemned by this law.

Public life at Rome at this period—an excursus (chapters 41-42).

41. 1. **mos, etc.**: (the prevalence of) "political rancor in the popular and aristocratic parties;" that mos has this meaning is clear from § 5 f. For various designations of the two political parties, cf. note 3,4 potentiae paucorum. **paucis ante annis**: i.e. about 146 B. C.; cf. § 2 ante Carthaginem deletam. But parties themselves existed from the earliest times; cf. Cic. Sest. 45,96 duo genera semper in hac civitate fuerunt . . . alteri se populares, alteri optimates et haberi et esse voluerunt. **quae**: refers to the sense of rerum, not to actual gender.

2. **populus et senatus R.**: the inversion of the regular order, as well as the plural verb, emphasizes the two elements as distinct, not as combined in one ruling power. **placide modesteque**: as a laudator temporis acti Sallust here makes the color too strong, but not to the same degree as in the Catiline. **hostilis**: equivalent to an objective genitive, as in 105,3; Tac. Ann. 12,51,2 ob metum hostilem. **in bonis artibus**: "in the observance of—."

3. **mentibus**: in all its meanings decedere is used by Sallust with the ablative alone, whereas Cicero always employs a preposition; cf. 28,2 Italia. **ea**: neuter plural is the invariable agreement in Sallust when the pronoun refers to two or more feminine antecedents; cf. 77,2; 85,30 and 48.

4. **quod . . . optaverant**: attributive to otium, which thus

separated is more emphatic. **asperius acerbiusque**: sc. quam res advorsae.

5. **namque . . . rapere**: note the asyndeton and climax. **in lubidinem**: "to their own ungovernable will." **quae media fuerat, dilacerata**: sc. est; either their common possession jointly managed (cf. § 2 inter se . . . tractabant), or the prize in their struggle for political leadership; cf. Livy 2, 57,3 ad se quisque omnia trahant . . . distractam laceratamque rem publicam; Thucyd. 3,82,19 *τὰ δὲ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπ ἀμφοτέρων . . . διεφθείροντο*, "the middle body of the citizens was destroyed by both parties."

6. **factione**: "party organization," as opposed to vis soluta. **in multitudine**: causal with soluta atque dispersa.

7. **arbitrio**: a variation for lubido which is used very frequently by Sallust. **belli**: locative; as such usually opposed to domi; cf. 63,2. **agitabatur**:=omnia gerebantur. **gloriae**: "honors;" the plural denotes the individual distinctions; cf. Tac. Ann. 3.45 veteres Gallorum glorias.

8. **interea**: i.e. while oppressed with military burdens and yet receiving no spoils of war.

9. **sine modo, etc.**: cf. note 10,1 sine spe, etc. **nihil pensi . . . habere**: "considered nothing valued or sacred;" nihil pensi (cf. pendere "to weigh," "value," etc.) is not found in any other classic author.

10. **ex nobilitate**: i.e. the Gracchi. **moveri . . . oriri**: cf. note 27,1 coepta. **permixtio terrae**: "earthquake."

42. 1. **Ti. et C. Gracchus**: we should expect Gracchi, as a common surname is regularly put in the plural; cf. Cat. 17,3 Publius et Servius Sullae. **maiores**: their maternal grandfather was Scipio Africanus, conqueror of Hannibal; their father Ti. Sempronius Gracchus won victories over the Celtiberians and Sardinians. **vindicare, etc.**: "to claim freedom for the people;" vindicare (from vim+dico) in this sense, whether used with a preposition, an object, or absolutely, is a legal term meaning to claim a thing as one's own or for its restoration to a free condition. **modo . . . interdum**: this combination is not found prior to Sallust, and but rarely afterwards; cf. Hor. Sat.

1,9,9 ire modo ocius, interdum consistere. **per socios**: as landholders they, of course, aided the nobles in opposing agrarian reforms. **societas**: i.e. with the nobles, with whom the knights hoped to share public offices. Caius Gracchus at first won the favor of the knights by making them alone eligible to jury service in criminal trials. But later they deserted him on the proposal to enfranchise the Italians. **actionibus**: "official policies." **eadem**: accusative plural, "the same course." **coloniis deducundis**: Caius Gracchus was one of three commissioners (triumviri) appointed to establish a colony at Carthage in the interest of the landless poor at Rome.

2. **et sane**: concessive. **haud . . . fuit**: "had not enough restraint."

3. **sed bono, etc.**: adversative to et sane . . . fuit, "but it is better for a good man to go down in defeat than by foul means to triumph over wrong." This sententia may refer either to the conduct of the nobles or of the Gracchi. If to the former the meaning is: "the Gracchi lacked restraint, but this does not excuse the nobles, for," etc. If to the latter: "the Gracchi were radical, but their motives were good and they stopped short of murder, for," etc.

4. **igitur**: resumptive of the main thought. **ferro aut fuga**: alliteration. The zeugma is only apparent, since banishment at Rome (fuga) was civil death. **timoris**: i.e. with which they were regarded by the people—a mere negative source of strength. **alteri alteros**: cf. note 12,2 alius alio. **ulcisci**: "punish."

5. **singillatim**: in model prose more usual than singulatim. **parem**: from parare. **ad inceptum redeo**: i.e. to the narrative of events in Africa, broken by chapters 41 and 42.

43. 1. **foedus . . . foedam fugam**: a sarcastic pun on Aulus' disgraceful surrender. **consules designati**: another inexact designation; cf. note on consul 39,2. Metellus and Silanus were not elected until after the beginning of their consular year (cf. 37,2), hence they entered office at once and were now consuls. **partiverant**: the active is archaic and poetic. **acri viro**: Metellus is characterized again 45,1, but given no direct speech.

In tact and strategy he was probably the superior of Marius, by whom he was relieved when victory was almost won. **quamquam**: with a participle or an adjective in place of a clause, quamquam is rare in classic prose, occasional in Livy, very frequent in Tacitus. **advorso**=advorsario, hence with the genitive. **fama, etc.**: "of consistent and unblemished character."

2. **alia omnia, etc.**: i.e. the war he regarded as solely his own care and responsibility.

3. **arma**: arms, defensive and for close fighting, as galea, lorica, scutum, gladius, etc. **tela**: weapons, offensive and for wounding at a distance, as pilum, iaculum, hasta, lancea, etc. **instrumenta**: from instruere, "equipment." **affatim**: not with the partitive genitive, but merely added with the force of an adjective, as abunde (102,7). **vario**: i.e. in battles, sieges, foragings, etc.

4. **senatus**: first of the subjects of adnitebantur.

5. **advorsum divitias, etc.**: "his character was superior to wealth;" for invictum cf. 2,3 incorruptus; Tac. Ann. 15,21 invictus adversum gratiam animus. **avaritia**: ablative of cause.

44. 1. **praedator**: a verbal substantive used as an adjective and=praedam agens; cf. 54,3 cultor; 64,1 contemptor. **sine imperio . . . habitus**: "were (kept) without discipline or self-restraint." The passive of habeo here differs little from esse; cf. 46,8.

2. **ita . . . accedebat**: "thus the new general had," etc.

3. **aestivorum tempus**: sc. castrorum, "the summer campaign." **intentos**: "wrought up." **laborare**: "to endure hardships."

4. **stativis castris**: "in a fixed camp;" stativa is not used without castra by Sallust, as are aestiva (§ 3) and hiberna (62,4; 64,5). Instead of habere, more usual is tenere or continere (in) castris. **odos**: archaic, as 3,1 honos. **subegerat**: repeated action; cf. 26,3 uti quisque . . . fuerat. For subegerat=coegerat cf. 24,2.

5. **muniebantur**: sc. stativa castra. **neque . . . deducebantur**: "nor . . . were sentinels distributed," i.e. the night watches at posts around the camp. **certantes agere**: "vie with

one another in driving off," cf. 22,1 maturantes veniunt. For plural praedas cf. note 20,8. **vino**: cf. note 38,10 mutabantur. **advecticio**: from adveho, "foreign;" only here and Ammianus 14,8,8. **frumentum, etc.**: grain was distributed monthly as part of the soldiers' pay. But these men were so demoralized that they sold their entire supply, without any thought of bread for the morrow. **quaecumque . . . probra**: "all the disgraceful conduct," etc. Note the emphatic separation of these words.

45. 1. **comperior**: the deponent is rare at all periods; in close imitation of Sallust it occurs Tac. Ann. 4,20 gravem et sapientem virum fuisse comperior. **tanta . . . moderatum**: sc. esse; depends on comperior, "with such self-poise did he keep the proper mean," etc. moderari used absolutely is infrequent. **ambitionem**: "courting popularity," i.e. by a relaxation of discipline.

2. **quisquam**: emphatic, hence in the place of quis usual in final clauses; cf. quispiam below. **ceteris arte . . . statuisse**: "to all other incentives to idleness he set close restrictions;" ceteris refers to adiumenta; arte is an adverb from artus, as 52,6; 85,34. **iuxta ac si**: "just as if;" in the same sense 46,6 pariter ac si; 102,7 par ac si. **ne quispiam**: less emphatic than quisquam and never indicating an important personage. **cum signis frequentes**: "in full numbers around the standards."

3. **confirmavit**: "strengthened."

46. 1. **accepit . . . factus**: change in construction; cf. 30,1 gestas . . . actae forent. **innocentia**: "incorruptible character." **Roma**: "from Rome," i.e. by letter.

2. **suppliciis**: "humble entreaties;" an archaism (=supplicationibus) with transference from the religious sphere (cf. 55,2) to entreaty in general. In Cicero and Caesar the meaning is "punishment." **ipsi**: ipse may be used as an indirect reflexive, either to mark a contrast (here with liberis), or to avoid ambiguity.

3. **Metello**: dative of agent with the perfect passive; so 60,5; 70,2; 75,2. **experimentis**: "actual trials."

4. **divorsos**: "separately." **maxume vivom**: cf. 35,4 max

ume occulte. **palam**: cf. note 29,4. **nuntiare**: the subject is legatos, which is continued in thought.

5. **deinde**: from this point to 61,1 we have an account of Metellus' first campaign. **intento atque infesto**: "alert and full of fight;" intentus is freely combined, as in Livy, into formulae more or less fixed; cf. 49,3; 100,4. **exercitu**: where an adjective accompanies cum is omitted in military usage. **commeatum portare**: "to carry (i.e. aid in carrying) the other supplies;" commeatus has this meaning when opposed to frumentum; cf. Caes. B. G. 1,48 uti frumento commeatuque . . . intercluderet.

6. **munito agmine**: that this means the so-called "hollow square" we see from § 7; cf. 100,1 quadrato agmine. **ostentui (sc. esse) . . . temptare**: signa is the subject, "believed that those signs of surrender were a pretense and looked to (an opportunity for) an ambush."

7. **C. Marius**: he is put in the foreground as much as possible, even during the leadership of Metellus; cf. 50,2; 55,4; 56,3; 58,5; 60,5. A character sketch is given in chapter 63, and a long speech is assigned him in chapter 85. **curabat**: "was in command." **equitibus**: sc. Romanis, as opposed to auxiliarios. **legionum . . . cohortium**; legio and legionarius (cf. 51,3) are used almost entirely of Roman soldiers; cohors, when opposed to these, means soldiers of the allies. **equitatus**: the plural denotes the separate divisions.

8. **peritia**:=scientia; not in Caesar or Cicero. **pacem . . . gerens**: "observing peace or making war;" note the zeugma. **haberetur**: for the passive cf. 44,1.

47. 1. **forum, etc.**: "market place." **maxume celebratum**: "the most frequented."

2. **huc**:=in hoc oppidum; cf. 35,10 eo; Caesar, B. G. 1,42 eo (=in equos) legionarios milites imponere. **temptandi gratia**: sc. Vagenses, i.e. to see whether they could be won away from Jugurtha. **si paterentur, etc.**: si="whether" after a verb of trial expressed or understood, "whether the local advantages would permit," i.e. of the maintenance of a garrison. **comportare**: the subject is Vagenses. **iuvaturum**:=iuturum; only here

in classic Latin; cf. Pliny, Epist. 4,15 omni gratia simus iuvaturi. **iam paratis rebus**: "stores already collected."

3. **inter**: temporal, as in § 4; 66,3 inter epulas; 74,2 inter eas moras. **impensius modo**: "only the more earnestly;" modo in this sense is characteristic of popular speech.

4. **illectos**: "enticed." **promissa**: i.e. the fulfillment of their promises.

48. 1. **se . . . temptari**: "that he was being assailed by his own methods," i.e. deception and strategy; cf. Livy 22, 16,5 nec Hannibalem fefellit suis se artibus peti. **alienata**: i.e. in the possession of another. **animi**: "loyalty."

3. **possederat**: cf. 16,5. **tractu pari**: "of like direction," i.e. parallel to the river. **vastus ab natura, etc.**: "barren by nature and uninhabited by man;" the preposition shows more clearly the respect in which the quality expressed by the adjective is true. **ex eo medio**: quasi=fere or ferme, and refers to medio, "from about the middle of it." **in immensum**: hyperbole, as 92,5. **pertingens**: "extending;" rare in the sense of pertinens. **oleastro**: "wild olive tree;" cf. 17,5 arbore. **murtetis**: the endings -tum -etum are frequent in names for places where particular plants grow, e.g. olivetum; spinetum; salictum. **humi**: partitive genitive, depending on arido, etc. used as substantives in the neuter; cf. note 21,2 diei extremum.

4. **media**: i.e. between the mountains and the river. **deserta**: adjective, sc. erat. **arbustis**:=arboribus, as in poetry. **cultoribus**: construed without the preposition, as pecore.

49. 1. **transvorso itinere**: "in a cross-direction," i.e. at right angles to the river and the mountain. The hill was on Metellus' right, as he marched toward the river. **propior**: cf. note 18,9 propius.

2. **turmas et manipulos**: "squadrons and companies;" of horse and foot respectively. **monet atque obtestatur**: cf. note 10,3. **quae . . . decuerint**: sc. provideri, which is supplied from provisa; decuerint is here given the rare personal construction. Note the change in objects of provisa: (1) accusative (2) ne-clause (3) ut-clause. **prudentes**: "aware of the coming

battle," hence imperitis=imprudentibus. **rudes**: inexperienced."

3. **illum**: ille in the indirect regularly replaces hic of the direct. **confirmaturum**: "would crown," lit. "make firm."

4. **pro cuiusque ingenio**: "according to the disposition of each;" cf. 57,4; 58,2 quisque pro moribus. **conspicatur**: "catches sight of them;" see Appendix.

5. **humilitate**: ablative of cause. **incerti**: "not discernible;" cf. note 18,6 ignara. **obscurati**: agrees with ipsi—the more important word.

6. **commutatis ordinibus, etc.**: i.e. making them face Jugurtha, who occupied the hill on the right. Standing thus Metellus drew up his army in three lines. Then wheeling about to the left, he continued the march across the plain. In this way at any moment of attack the army could face to the right and find itself in proper order of battle. **subsidiis**: "supporting lines." **inter**: i.e. in the spaces between the maniples. **pauca**: verbs of exhorting, teaching, etc. may take two accusatives. **transvorsis principiis**: "turning his front ranks (i.e. what had been the front when monte digrediens) in a cross direction." Thus the left wing became the van.

50. 1. **transvorsis proeliis**: "by flank attacks." **temptaturos**: i.e. would try their effect on the soldiers.

2. **pro re, etc.**: "as befitted the occasion and place;" cf. 57,2 pro tempore et loco. **post principia**: i.e. in the centre with the infantry. **qui . . . facti erant**: this shows clearly the meaning of 49,6 transvorsis principiis.

3, **duum**:=duorum; so 91,3; 106,5.

4. **infensi adesse**: "advanced menacingly." **atque**: "and even;" so 51,1; 98,2. **ludificati**: "baffled;" cf. note 17,7 interpretatum est. **conserundi manum**: cf. note 24,2 exstinguendi me.

5. **confertim**: "in a body." **quam . . . divorsi**: opposed to in unum, "in as many different directions as possible."

6. **priores**: "superior." **nequiverant**: for construction cf. 26,3 uti quisque . . . fuerat. **disiectos**:=dispersos, "scattered." **ea**: cf. 38,6 eaque. **consueti**: sc. inter virgulta evadere. **insolentia**: "strangeness."

51. 1. **totius negoti**: i.e. the defense made by the Romans; totus="all, as emphatically opposed to separate parts;" omnis="all, as a collection of separate units;" cunctus="all, as united in one body;" universus="all, as taken collectively and sharing alike." **varia, etc.**: asyndeton; cf. 31,20 regna, etc. **dispersi**: sc. nostri. **resistere ac propulsare**: "took their stand and made their defense." **agi**: cf. note 30,1 agitari; the large number of infinitives together with several members in asyndeton gives a rapidity of description not easily excelled. **fors omnia regere**: cf. Tac. Ann. 1,49 cetera fors regit.

3. **legionarias**: cf. note 46,7 legionum . . . cohortium.

4. **deficerent**: sc. animo; cf. Cic. Att. 1.16,9 ne . . . patres conscripti conciderent, ne deficerent. **illis**: cf. note 8,2 illi. **in armis omnia sita**: cf. 54,8 spes omnis in fuga sita erat; Caes. B. G. 5,34 omnem spem salutis in virtute ponebant.

5. **dubiis**: "wavering."

52. 1. **pares . . . disparibus**: note change in construction. **virtus militum**: i.e. brave soldiers.

2. **advorsus**: sc. erat; adversative asyndeton.

3. **et iam**: "for it was already;" cf. note 31,20. **die**: contracted genitive, as 97,3; frequent in the poets and Livy. **advorso colle . . . evadunt**: "made their way up the hill" (lit. "the hill facing them"); cf. adverso flumine, "up stream." **praeceptum fuerat**: in the perfect and pluperfect passive, forms of fui, etc. (instead of sum, etc.) are sometimes used to emphasize that an action is over and gone; cf. 90,1; 109,3. But occasionally (cf. 93,1) forms of fui are used quite in the sense of sum, as in Plautus, Cicero's letters, and Livy.

4. **ignara**: "the enemy's ignorance of the country;" cf. 18,5. **tutata sunt**: for the agreement, cf. 38,8 remorata sunt.

5. **praefectum**: sc. esse. **festinans pergit**: cf. 22,1 maturantes veniunt. **exornat**: "drew up." **remittit**: "cease;" remitto with the infinitive is cited only here in prose; cf. Ter. Andr. 827; Hor. Od. 2,11,3. Cicero uses mitto; omitto; intermitto.

6. **vacuom**: sc. esse, "free from anxiety;" i.e. about accomplishing what he was sent to do (50,1); animo is ablative of specification, rather than of separation or of locative force.

Iugurthae: subjective genitive. **arte**: "in close order;" cf. 45,2. **quo**: cf. note 37,4.

53. 1. **nam**: explains why ex improviso. **aequabilem**: i.e. vim pulveris, "ever the same."

3. **fugam faciunt**:=fugiunt, as Livy 8,9,12 cohortes . . . fugam ac vastitatem late fecerunt; usually fugam facere=fugare.

5. **fessi**: see Appendix. **amplius opinione**: "longer than was expected."

6. **nihil, etc.**: "no inactivity or negligence."

7. **inter se**: "from each other;" cf. Livy 28,14,13 haud plus quingentos passus acies inter se aberant. **imprudentia**: ablative of cause. **paene . . . admissum**: sc. est, "all but took place;" with paene or prope the perfect indicative is used in the apodosis of an unreal condition. See A. 517,b, N.2; G. 597, R.3; B. 304,3; H. 538,2.

8. **mutatur**: for this verb with pro cf. note 38,10. See Appendix. **etiam bonos detrectant**: "casts discredit even on the brave."

54. 1. **quadriduo**: the ablative to express duration of time is unusual in the classic period; cf. however Caes. B. G. 1,47 quod . . . quinque horis proelium sustinuissent. **quae levia sunt**: "which would be unimportant;" for the mood cf. 16,2 obtinuerat. **gerant**: ut omitted; cf. 28,1 aggrediantur.

2. **ubi gentium**: "where in the world;" colloquial, e.g. Plaut. Merc. 434; Cic. Cat. 1,4,9 ubinam gentium sumus? **agitaret**: used with ubi gentium in the sense of esset but transitively with quid. Note the variety in clauses depending on exploratum.

3. **hebetem**: "spiritless." **cultorem**: "acquainted with;" cf. praedator 44,1.

4. **id**: i.e. the necessity for raising another army. **ea gratia**: =eius rei gratia, "for this reason;" eius for brevity is attracted to the case of the noun, as 18,4 eo numero; 83,1 eo dolore; 114,1 quo metu. **nemo . . . Numida**: we should expect Numidarum; nemo as an adjective also 63,7 novus nemo. **ex fuga**: "during flight."

6. **temere**: "insecurely." **ea formidine**: cf. § 4 ea gratia;

they feared a similar fate. **dediti**: the auxiliary is omitted three times in this sentence.

7. **ab suis**: construe with pugnatum.

8. **sua**: "favorable;" suus=commodus or opportunus, and frequent in such phrases as suo loco, tempore, anno, iure, etc. is the opposite of alienus; cf. 61,1; 66,1.

9. **ex copia**: cf. 39,5. **plerumque**: cf. note 18,13 pleraque. **ignoratus**: "unobserved."

10. **inermes**: cf. 94,6; the archaic inermus occurs 66,3; 94, 2; 107,1. **priusquam, etc.**: "before aid could come," etc.

55. 1. **gereret**: by zeugma with exercitum. **advorso loco**: concessive, as shown by tamen. **magnificum ex**: "exulting in consequence of." **ea feliciter acta**: "these successes."

2. **supplicia**: "a public thanksgiving;" cf. 46,2 with note. **laeta agere**:=laeta esse (cf. 2,3 agit), "was filled with joy."

3. **niti**: sc. Metellus. **post gloriam invidiam sequi**: proverbial; cf. Vell. Pater. 1,9,6 adsidua eminentis fortunae comes invidia; Quint. 4,1,14 potentes sequitur invidia.

4. **praesidium agitabant**:=praesidebant; "acted as a guard;" cf. 85,33; Tac. Ann. 3,41 excita cohorte quae Lugduni praesidium agitabat. **praeda**:=praedando; cf. Livy 22,9,5 praeda ac populationibus . . . gaudentibus.

7. **fuga et formido**: for agreement with cresceret cf. 15,3. **divorsi agebant**: "they kept apart."

8. Observe the vivid description with ten historical infinitives.

56. 1. **Romanus imperator**: unusual order to give emphatic contrast with ille in the following sentence. **arcem**: figurative, "the bulwark;" cf. Cic. Cat. 4,6,11 hanc urbem—arcem omnium gentium. **laborantibus**: "sorely pressed."

2. **fallere**:=mutare fidem; as deserters they knew that merciless punishment would await them at the hands of the Romans. **in tempore**: "at the right time;" note the preposition in this sense, and cf. note 5,4 Bello Punico.

3. **malam pugnam**: i.e. on the Muthul; cf. 52,4.

4. **pugnam facit**: colloquial for pugnat, as 61,1. **casum**: same meaning as in 25,9. **fecerint**: cf. note 15,1 superatus sit, etc.

5. **signa inferre**: "to advance;" the opposite of signa referre.

6. **profugi discedunt**:=profugiunt.

57. 1. **ad Zamam**: with names of towns ad and ab are used in the sense of "before," "near," "from before," etc.; cf. 61,1; 75,6.

2. **cuncta moenia**: "the entire city." **curaret**: cf. 46,7 curabat.

4. **glande**: collective singular, "leaden balls;" so called because shaped like acorns (glandes). **proelium . . . facere**: i.e. comminus pugnare; cf. the Greek ἐν χερσὶ ποιεῖν τὴν μάχην.

5. **ea**: i.e. what the Romans did. **ardentia**: predicate to sudis, pila, picem—all of which were put into the flames.

6. **muniverat**: the pluperfect is occasionally (cf. 64,4; 72,1) used for the perfect (aorist), as often in early Latin and poetry.

58. 1. **remissis**: "negligent;" supply iis before qui . . . erant. **irrumpit**: *in* is usual with this verb; cf. 12,5 in aedis irrupere.

2. **quisque pro moribus**: cf. 49,4. **sibi . . . consulunt**: "each looked to his own interest."

3. **pauci . . . frustrari**: (being) "few against the many they were effective," i.e. did not miss their aim; cf. Caes. B. G. 3,25 telaque ex loco superiore missa non frustra. **sin accessissent**: everywhere else Sallust, as other classic authors, employs the indicative in repeated actions; cf. 26,3 fuerat. A si-clause is understood in perculsi (§ 2). **et**: cf. 31,20.

4. **acerrume . . . gereret**: "was vigorously pushing his undertaking," i.e. the siege (cf. 57,2). **vorsum**: cf. 19,3 vorsus and note. **popularis esse**: sc. fugientes, supplied from fugam fieri.

5. **exercitu victore**: cf. note 12,5 mulieris ancillae. **inultos**: cf. 31,2.

6. **angustiis**: i.e. the entrances to the camp. **ipsi . . . officerent**: "retarded themselves by their haste."

59. 1. **qua . . . erat**:=qua . . . futurus erat. **agitare**: absolutely, "take their stand." **portas . . . tribunis**: in English the relation of these objects is reversed.

2. **in proxumo**: "nearest," i.e. to Jugurtha as he approached. **diutius**: i.e. after the Romans had been reinforced.

3. **ni . . . facerent**: for greater vividness the imperfect is used to represent an action in progress before the spectator instead of completed from the point of view of the historian; cf. Livy 2,56,14 violatus esset tribunus, ni . . . concursus hominum in forum fieret. **congressu**; "encounter." **quibus**: i.e. the pedites. **illi**: i.e. the equites. **advorsis equis**: "with horses opposing them," i.e. charging the enemy face to face. **expeditis peditibus**: ablative of instrument; persons are often so construed in military operations; cf. 94,3 sagittariis. **victos dare**:=vincere; for dare combined with the perfect participle passive as a periphrasis for the simple verb, cf. Verg. Aen. 2,790 dicta dedit=dixit; Livy 8,6,6 sic stratas legiones Latinorum dabo=sternam legiones, etc.

60. 1. **eo . . . niti**: "there they (i.e. the men) made the most vigorous efforts." **oppugnare aut parare**: refer to both besiegers and besieged, as the two following infinitives show.

2. **ad caelum ferri**: hyperbole; cf. Verg. Aen. 2,488 ferit aurea sidera caelo.

3. **defensabant**: cf. 26,1. **prospectabant**: pro has the force of "at a distance;" cf. Livy 21,49,8 qui ex speculis prospicerent adventantem hostium classem.

4. **uti . . . res erant**: "as Jugurtha's fortunes changed," i.e. now for, now against him. **laetos, etc.**: chiasmus here emphasizes the frantic interest of the townsmen in the battlefield struggle. **animadvorteres**: "one might have seen;" for mood and tense cf. 14,3 vellem. **sicuti**: only in Sallust is sicuti=quasi found in an unreal comparison. **tela**: object of both participles.

5. **Mario**: dative; cf. 46,3 Metello. **consulto**: "purposely." **lenius agere**: "attacked less vigorously." **sine tumultu**: "without being disturbed."

6. **illis . . . adstrictis**: "while wrought up with anxiety for their friends." **egressi**: "ascending;" the prepositional force "up" is frequent in this verb; cf. 93,2 ad summum montis egressus est; Livy 26,44,5 egressus Scipio in tumulum. **summa**: neuter plural, "the top."

7. **unae atque alterae**: i.e. several; plural forms of unus are found with words used only in the plural; cf. Cic. Att. 14,18,1 adductus sum tuis et unis et alteris litteris. **comminutae**: sc. sunt, "were broken to pieces."

61. 1. **frustra**: sc. esse. **suo loco**: for force of suo cf. 54,8; for the omission of *in* cf. 14,1 loco ducerem. **ab Zama**: cf. 57,1. **ad se**: colloquial for ad eum, since found in a subordinate clause of direct, not indirect, statement; so 66,1; 88,4.

2. **ceterum**: modifies exercitum; not found in the nominative masculine (ceterus), and rarely in any case of the singular. But Sallust uses the ablative (89,6), and the accusative again (92,5). **in provinciam**:=in eam provinciae partem; cf. 78,5 frequentem Numidiam; 107,1 nudum et caecum corpus. **collocat**: *in* with the accusative because of the idea of motion involved.

4. **de . . . nece iudicium**: "trial for the murder of Massiva."

5. **sua omnia**: forfeited as bail. **cum ingenio infido, tum metuenti**: "because he was both treacherous, as well as afraid," etc. Note the variety in attributives.

Fourth Year (108 B. C.): under Metellus as proconsul (chapters 62,10—83).

62. 1. **illo**:=se.

2. **his atque talibus aliis**: cf. 32,1.

3. **facturum . . . tradere**: the change to the present shows that Jugurtha regards the surrender as already in effect. **sine ulla pactione**: previously (46,2; 47,3) he had stipulated for his own life and that of his children.

5. **pondo**: "in weight;" an old ablative used with ellipsis of librarum ("pounds") depending on milia.

8. **ad imperandum**:=ut ei imperaretur; the passive gerund in the accusative is here preserved in an old military phrase; cf. Cic. Fam. 9,25,2 nunc ades imperandum . . . sic enim antiqui loquebantur. **Tisidium**: site unknown. **digna**: "just punishment."

9. **bello potiora**: cf. 26,2. **casus**: "fall;" cf. Seneca, Phoen.

599 in servitutem cadere de regno grave est. **praesidiis**: "means of defense;" indicated § 5f. **bellum sumit**: cf. 20,5 with note.

10. **decreverat**: i.e. Metellus as proconsul was continued in command for another year.

63. 1. **agitabat**: for the indicative cf. note 16,2 obtinuerat.

2. **belli**: locative; cf. 41,7. **modicus**: "temperate;" "modest;" cf. 85,1; 111,1 pro se breviter et modice.

3. **natus es . . . altus**: "born and reared." Marius was born near Arpinum 157 B. C. He was elected tribune of the plebs in 119, and later held the office of praetor. From 107 to the year of his death (86) he filled the office of consul seven times. **patiens**: "able to endure." **stipendiis**: "military service;" first at Numantia (cf. Vell. Pater. 2,9,3), next as lieutenant under Metellus (46,7). **Graeca facundia**: cf. note 30,4. Marius mentions with pride (85,13,32,33) his aversion to Greek studies. **urbanis munditiis**: "refinements of city life." **artis bonas**: "wholesome activities."

4. **ignorantibus**: "concessive." **facile notus**: i.e. by his reputation as a soldier.

5. **potestatibus**: "public offices;" so 85,9. **agitabat**:=se gerebat. **quam gerebat**: brachylogy for quam ea erat quam, etc.

6. **ad id locorum**: "up to that time," i.e. of the haruspex's prophecy (§ 1); the partitive genitive dependent on a neuter pronoun which is itself the object of a preposition is not found in Cicero or Caesar. **talis vir**: "excellent man;" cf. 6,3. **praeceps datus est**: "carried away." **per manus**: "from hand to hand," i.e. as it were by inheritance; cf. Livy 9,17,10 disciplina militaris . . . tradita per manus.

7. **novos nemo**: cf. 54,4 nemo . . . Numida. **et is**: sc. honos. See Appendix.

64. 1. **ab Metello**: rogare, regularly with the double accusative, here takes ab by analogy to petere, postulare, etc. **petundi**: sc. consulatus. **missionem**: "discharge;" according to Vell. Pater. 2,11,2 Marius asked only for a leave of absence (commeatus). **bonis**: dative masculine. **superabant**:=supererant, "were his in rich measure." **inerat**: sc. cui; Cicero uses *in*

and the ablative with this verb. **contemptor**: "disdainful;" cf. 12,5 mulieris ancillae.

2. **mirari**: "was amazed at." **tam prava**: "such a mistaken course." **super . . . gereret**: "aspire above his rank;" super used metaphorically of degree begins with Sallust, and is frequent in Livy and the poets. **omnia omnibus**: for the juxtaposition, cf. 10,2 ex amicis amicissumos. **suas res . . . placere**: "to be contented with his present lot." **caveret**: with the infinitive rare in prose.

4. **contubernio patris**: "as a comrade (lit. "tent companion") of his father;" contubernio is ablative of manner like auspiciis, imperio, ductu, etc. Young nobiles in attendance on a general were called his contubernales. **annos . . . viginti**: as the requisite age for election to the consulship was forty-three, Metellus' remark meant that Marius ought to wait twenty-three years! **quae res**: "this taunt." **pro**: "with respect to."

5. **consultoribus**: "counsellors;" we should expect consultricibus, as the two nouns in apposition are feminine. The word is used in the archaic sense (as 85,47; 103,7), i.e. of one who gives advice, not asks it—the regular meaning. **quod modo**: a relative condition=si modo hoc. **ambitiosum**: "conducive to his popularity." **criminose . . . magnifice**: "in a censorious and boastful manner," i.e. the one about Metellus, the other about himself. **habiturum**: sc. se; the omission of the subject accusative pronoun for brevity is frequent in the historians; cf. 76,1; 88,5; 102,2 etc. **trahi**: sc. bellum; cf. Livy 5,10,7 bellum annum iam tertium trahi.

6. **eo firmiora**: "the more convincing." **corruperant**: "had impaired." **nihil festinatur**: used transitively, as by the poets; cf. 73,1; 77,1; 81,4.

65. 1. **secundum heredem**: a Roman term (cf. note 12,3 proxumus lictor) used of one to whom a bequest falls, when the nearest heirs (primi heredes) do not take the inheritance. **mente . . . imminuta**: ablative of quality, "somewhat weakened in mind."

2. **poneret**: "that he be permitted to place;" the auxiliary verbs licere, posse, etc. are often omitted in the dependent clause;

cf. Livy 28,45,13 ut dilectum haberet (=habere liceret). **iuxta**: i.e. next to Metellus. **turmam**: with change in the objects of petenti. **quod . . . foret**: the reason is Metellus', hence subjunctive. **in eos**: anticipates equites Romani. **satellites**: "attendants."

3. **anxium**: "vexed," i.e. at the refusals. **ut . . . petat**: "with his (Marius') aid to punish the general for the insults done him" (Gauda); note the wide separation of contumeliarum from its governing word. More usual would be poenas petere ab imperatore. **secunda**: "flattering." **adeo mature**: "so much the earlier;" adeo advances an additional reason or emphasizes a previous statement; cf. 110,4; 111,1.

5. **fusa**: with nobilitate, "overthrown;" "humbled." **legem Mamiliam**: cf. chapter 40.

66. 1. **interim, etc.**: resumes after the digression about Marius (63f.). **parare, etc.**: note the eleven historical infinitives in this period. **ab se**: cf. 61,1 ad se with note. **formidine**: "by inspiring fear;" cf: note 23,1. **affectare**: "strove to win back." **commercari**: "bought up;" rare for coemere. **servitia**:=servos, abstract for the concrete. **quietum pati**: cf. Tac. Agr. 20 nihil interim apud hostis quietum pati.

2. **quo**: refers to Vaga, supplied from Vagenses. **principes**: the subject (Vagenses) is afterwards restricted to a smaller class (principes), "when the people of Vaga, in which town . . . were entreated by the king, and because (in fact) they had not before been willingly estranged from him, their leaders," etc. **pacificante**: pacificare="make proposals of peace;" cf. Livy 5,23,12 pacificatum legati a Volscis et Aequis venerunt. **nam**: i.e. the leaders knew they would be joined in the revolt, "for," etc. **plerumque solet**: sc. fieri; cf. 7,5. **seditiosum, etc.**: "prone to uprisings and contentions." **constituunt**: absolutely, "made an agreement for;" the transitive use, diem constituere, is much more frequent; cf. 93,8; Caes. B. G. 1,30 fin.

3. **inter**: temporal, cf. 47,3. **alius alium . . . invitant**: "they invite severally to their homes." **inermos**: cf. 54,10 inermes. **in tali die**: the preposition is used here, as with tempus, tempestas, etc., where *situation* (cf. note 5,4 Bello Punico) rather

than time is meant; cf. Cat. 48,5 in tali tempore; Livy 22,56, 4 in illa tempestate.

4. **plebes**: cf. note 33,3. **ignorantibus**: concessive.

67. 1. **arce . . . fuga**: chiasmus. **prohibebant**: sc. eos. **pro tectis**: "from (lit. "before") the roofs," i.e. standing on the edge.

2. **caveri**: "be guarded against." **anceps malum**: i.e. the men of the garrison, and the women and children (infirmissumo generi) on the roofs. Note the emphatic bringing together of fortissumis infirmissumo. **iuxta**:=pariter, "alike;" "side by side."

3. **asperitate**: "peril." **nisi**: "except" (I will say that); cf. 24,5. **illi . . . potior fuit**: "he preferred;" the opposite sentiment is proverbial; cf. Tac. Agr. 33 honesta mors, turpi vita potior. **intestabilis**: "infamous;" "detestable;" strictly used it is a legal term applied to one incapable of being a witness or of making a will; cf. Hor. Sat. 2,3,181 is intestabilis et sacer esto.

68. 1. **ex conspectu**: sc. hominum, "from public gaze." **permixta**: i.e. his grief gave way to anger; for the neuter plural cf. 38,8. **ultum ire**: cf. 31,27 perditum eatis.

2. **hora tertia**: i.e. after sunrise; the Roman day from sunrise to sunset was divided into twelve equal periods, varying in length with change of season. So the night was divided into four watches (vigiliae) of varying length.

3. **mille**: occasionally, as always its plural milia, a substantive with dependent partitive genitive; cf. Nepos, Milt. 5 ea (=civitas) mille misit militum. **dum**: "provided only." **benigne ostentat**: "made generous promises of."

4. **late**: "in open order," i.e. scattered so as to capture any who might betray their approach.

69. 2. **volgum**: archaic masculine, as 73,5. **oppido**: the preposition ab or ex, regularly used with effundere, is omitted, as often in Livy and Tacitus. **amplius . . . posse**: i.e. anger and hope of spoil made them forget their weariness; cf. 111,1 amplius valuissent. More frequent are multum, plus, etc. posse or valere.

3. **ex**: "after." **opulens**: for the regular opulentus (75,1);

opulens and its corresponding adverb (85,34) are rare. **poenae aut praedae**: final datives.

4. **sese . . . expurgat**: "was unable to clear himself;" vulgar for the classic purgat; cf. Caes. B. G. 6,9 purgandi sui causa. **nam, etc.**: gives the justification for such punishment, since civis ex Latio=civis Latinus. In Sallust's time Latium was used in its legal, not its local sense. By the Lex Porcia (197 B. C.) a civis Romanus would have been exempt.

70. 1. **impulsu**: "persuasion." **suspectus . . . suspiciens**: "mistrusted by the king and himself mistrusting;" in this transferred sense of suspicere (for which suspicari or suspectum habeo is usual) only the form suspectus is found, except in this example where suspiciens is forcefully contrasted with suspectus.

2. **seorsum**: "apart," i.e. commanded separate forces. **superaverant**:=superfuerant, i.e. were too many for him to do. **maioribus astricto**: "engaged with more important matters;" the neuter of adjectives used as substantives is generally avoided in the plural, except in the cases (nominative and accusative) where the gender is shown by the form. **ex quo**:=qua ex re. **illi**: cf. note 46,3 Metello. **inventae**: sc. sunt, "were gained."

4. **inultis hostibus**: ablative absolute.

5. **soci**: subjective genitive. **in quis . . . accusare, etc.**: observe that in sense the historical infinitive clause is here independent; cf. note 98,2 cum tamen . . . remittere. **iuravisset**: implies Bomilcar's words. **praemia**: Metellus was to reward them for betraying Jugurtha. **in pestem**: "to his own ruin." **id modo agitari**: "this was the only question."

71. 1. **allatae**: sc. sunt; Sallust often omits the auxiliary, even in subordinate clauses; cf. 77,3; 79,4; 91,3, etc.

2. **aegrum**: "wearied." **solet**: sc. capere supplied from cepit. **ei**: i.e. in his service.

4. **opera aut ingenio**: "aid or counsel."

5. **facere**: i.e. reveal the plot to Jugurtha. **clientis**: cf. note 12,3 proxumus lictor. **praeventa**: "forestalled." **super**:=de, "with regard to;" in this sense colloquial and never frequent,

though found in a wide range of authors; cf. Cic. At[illegible]o sed hac super re nimis.

72. 1. **animo gerebat**: "he felt at heart." **oppresse[illegible]at**: for the tense cf. 57,6 muniverat. **oreretur**: a variant of oriretur, and found frequently, even in the classic period.

2. **post id locorum**: cf. 63,6. Observe the picturesque description following, and cf. note 34,1 terrebat. **civis**: i.e. his subjects. **contra decus regium**: cf. 33,1.

73. 1. **indicio patefacto**: "the disclosure of the plot;" the expression really=insidiis per indicium patefactis.

2. **fatigantem**: sc. se, i.e. Metellum.

3. **acceperant**: by synesis with plebes.

4. **nobilitas**: "noble birth;" opposed to humilitas following. **illi alteri**: "in the case of the other;" cf. note 13,1. **in utroque . . . moderata**: sc. sunt, "in the case of both party spirit rather than their own good or bad qualities guided," i.e. was the factor governing men in their estimate of them; for moderata in this sense cf. 45,1.

5. **volgum**: cf. 69,2. **capitis arcessere**: "arraigned on capital charges;" a legal term applied to the vehement denunciations by the tribunes (seditiosi magistratus). **in maius celebrare**: "praised in excess;" the use of *in* in such phrases to express intended effect or result, begins here, is found also in Livy, and frequently in Tacitus; cf. Livy 4,34,7 in maius celebrantes; Thucyd. 1,10,3.

6. **res fidesque**: a proverbial combination; cf. Plaut. Curc. 504 eum rem fidemque perdere . . . aiunt; Cic. Cael. 32,78 hominem sine re, sine fide. **in manibus**: i.e. manual labor; cf. Cat. 37,7 manuum mercede. **post . . . ducerent**: "regarded as of less importance;" cf. the opposite ante . . . ponerent 15,1. In the figurative sense of rank, post occurs only in Sallust, the poets and late prose; cf. Hor. Od. 3,9,6 neque erat Lydia post Chloen.

7. **multas tempestates**: "a long time;" cf. 96,1. The plural denotes the separate, duly recurring years when elections were held. **frequens**: "in full assembly;" cf. Cic. Imper. 1,1 semper frequens conspectus vester. **sed paulo . . . decreverat**: the best

. 'e a gap here. Mommsen (Rom. Hist. Bk. IV. chap. ...nks that if complete we would probably read the names of the provinces that had been assigned to the incoming consuls. Numidia, of course, was not one of these, as it was intended for Metellus. **ea res frustra fuit**: i.e. the senate was forced to yield to the people, and Marius, as consul for the year 107 B. C., received the command in Numidia.

74. 1. **Bocchum**: cf. 19,7. **varius . . . agitabat**: "was changeable and uncertain in his plans." **res**: i.e. prospect of success. **in dies**: an exception to the rule (cf. note 7,6) that in dies is used with expressions of increase, etc. **intenderat**: "had turned his attention."

3. **ceteri . . . milites**: the preceding qua parte . . . adfuit=quibus militibus rex adfuit. **certatum**: sc. est; note also the omission of sunt before and following. **aliquanto**: "considerable;" the masculine singular used as an adjective (cf. 105,4) is rare. **numero . . . hostium**: change in case with the same verb (potiti). **tuta sunt**: "afford safety;" cf. 14,4 with note.

75. 1. **impensius modo**: "only the more readily;" cf. 47,3. **in**: when oppidum or urbem is qualified by an adjective these words follow the name of the town and take the preposition. **multus . . . cultus**: "ample training."

2. **in spatio**: "in extent." **milium**: sc. passuum. **supervadere**: "to surmount;" wanting in Cicero and Caesar, but frequent in Livy.

3. **utris**: "skins."

4. **eo**:=in ea pecora; cf. 47,2 huc.

5. **praesto**: "at hand." **fuerint**: represents a future perfect used for greater exactness in the direct command.

6. **quam**: agrees with the predicate noun aquam. **ad Thalam**: cf. 57,1.

7. **ad id loci**: literally; cf. 63,6. **praeceperat**: sc. ut convenirent. **missa**: sc. esse. **ea modo**: "this alone," i.e. without the supply brought with them.

8. **in nova deditione**: "while their surrender was recent." **officia intenderant**: "had amply met (lit. "had stretched") their obligations."

9. **religione**: "because of religious scruples." **rati**: sc. sunt.

10. **perculsi**: concessive. **nihilo segnius**: "not a whit less energetically."

76. 1. **infectum**: "impossible;" cf. note 2,3 incorruptus. **ceteris**: masculine. **ceterum**:=sed re vera; contrasts reality with pretense; cf. Tac. Ann. 1,10 pietatem . . . obtentui sumptam, ceterum cupidine dominandi. **posse**: sc. se; cf. note 64,5 habiturum. **talia consilia**: sc. proditionis. **capi**: depends likewise on putabat.

2. **proelio**: Sallust employs either dative or ablative with intentus; cf. 89,3; 94,3.

3. **ex copia, etc.**: "most suitable, all things considered." **vineas agere**: cf. 37,4. **administros**: "workers."

4. **nihil . . . fieri**: "nothing was left undone;" Sallust uses ordinarily nihil reliqui, as Caes. B. G. 2,26 nihil ad celeritatem sibi reliqui fecerunt.

5. **ante**: adverb used attributively; cf. Livy 1,17,4 multarum circa civitatium; Vergil, Aen. 1,198 neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum. **potiti**: supply sunt, as also est with corrupta.

6. **domum regiam**: a preposition is commonly used before domum when (as here) its attribute is other than a possessive pronoun. **onerati**: "heavy with;" "sated." Cf. Curt. 4,4,5 onerare se vino; Odys. 3,139 *οἴνῳ βεβαρηότες*. **victi**:=si victi essent. **ab hostibus**: with poenas metuerant. **pependere**: "suffered."

77. 1. **eo**: sc. in oppidum Leptim. **ni . . . festinaret**: "unless he did this speedily;" cf. note 64,6. **illorum**: i.e. the Romans, as whose representatives Metellus and his war council are addressed.

2. **nam**: explains why the people of Leptis are called socii. **miserant**: supply legatos; cf. 80,4 legatos Romam miserat foedus et amicitiam petitum. **ea**: for the neuter cf. 41,3. **impetrata**: sc. sunt, "obtained;" cf. 71,1.

4. **nave**: "diligently;" archaic for naviter. **emissae**: sc. e provincia Africa.

78. 1. **ex re**: "from their nature;" this is explained by ab tractu nominatae (§ 3), i.e. Sallust derives Syrtes from *σύρειν*

=="to draw." The winds and eddies were believed to draw the sand and stones to and fro in their gulfs.

2. **in extrema Africa**: i.e. in the easternmost part. **praealta**: "very deep;" not in Cicero or Caesar, and only here in Sallust. **ut . . . tulit**: "as chance brings it about;" observe the perfect of repeated action. **alto . . . vadosa**: "are deep at one time (i.e. in good weather), at another, shallow;" in each case alia is ablative with tempestate. For the preposition *in* cf. 66,3 in tali die.

3. **magnum esse**: "to swell." **facies locorum**: i.e. of the bottom of the gulfs.

4. **Sidonica**: sc. sunt. **regis**: sc. Numidarum.

5. **frequentem**: "the thickly peopled part;" cf. 61,2 in provinciam.

The Story of the Philaeni—an excursus (chapter 79).

79. 1. **non indignum**: litotes, "especially fitting." **eam rem**: with admoneo an accusative and genitive are regularly found, as 95,2; when two accusatives are used, that of the thing is ordinarily a neuter pronoun, e.g. id, illud, hoc, etc. This is probably the only occurrence in Latin where, of two accusatives of this kind, a noun stands as accusative of the thing.

2. **pleraque Africa**: ablative of place; the preposition is omitted after the analogy of nouns with totus, cunctus, etc. **in medio**: i.e. of the two peoples.

3. **una specie**: "of uniform appearance," i.e. an unbroken plain. **habuit**: "kept;" cf. Livy 10, 2,9 semper autem eos in armis accolae Galli habebant.

4. **alius**: i.e. a new enemy.

5. **Philaenis**: dative by attraction; cf. 5,4 Africano cognomen. **iter pergere**: "to proceed on their journey;" iter is accusative of kindred meaning; cf. Ter. Hec. 194 pergam quo coepi hoc iter.

6. **haud secus**: a litotes frequent in colloquial speech; cf. 92,4; 100,4; 105,2. **retinere**: absolutely, "to cause delay." **nuda**: adjectives of want with the genitive (cf. 90,1 vacuos) instead of the ablative are rare prior to the Augustan poets. **gignen-**

tium: gignentia, "vegetation," is passive in sense and=ea quae gignuntur; cf. Cic. Or. 2,71,287 exercentes=ii qui exercentur. **excitavit**: perfect of repeated action.

7. **ob rem corruptam**: "because they had ruined their cause," i.e. had lost.

8. **condicionem**: "agreement." **Graeci**: i.e. Cyrenenses; cf. 19,3 colonia Theraeon. **optionem . . . faciunt**: "made (it) the choice of," etc., i.e. gave the Carthaginians the choice. **ibi**: sc. in eis finibus.

80. 2. **consuefacit**: archaic for assuefacit; cf. Ter. Ad. 74 hoc patriumst, potius consuefacere filium sua sponte recte facere.

3. **proxumos**: substantive, "intimate friends." **ad studium sui**: i.e. to his cause.

4. **ea gratia**: "for this reason;" cf. 54,4. **pronius**: "more readily;" pronus applied to things occurs first here. **quod**: the real reason is in quam . . . impediverant, since Bocchus . . . miserat is logically subordinate; construe: quod, cum Bocchus . . . misisset, eam rem . . . pauci impediverant.

6. **etiam**: "further;" introduces another reason why Bocchus joined Jugurtha against the Romans. **necessitudo**: "intimate relation." **singuli . . . quisque**: "every man, each in proportion to his wealth."

7. **eo amplius**: sc. uxores habent; we should expect eo plures, which is avoided because pluris precedes. **animus**: "affection." **multitudine**: sc. uxorum. **pro socia obtinet**: "holds the place of a wife;" only rarely is obtinere used absolutely; cf. Cic. Rep. 6,17 subter mediam fere regionem sol obtinet.

81. 1. **placitum**: i.e. agreed upon; the adjective use of this participle is mostly poetic; cf. Verg. Aen. 4,38 placitone etiam pugnabis amori? **profunda**: "insatiable." **tum**: nunc of the direct; the ellipsis of esse here and fuisse following is to be supplied from fore. **Persen**: Greek accusative from nominative Perses. The Macedonian king was defeated by L. Aemilius Paulus at Pydna 168 B. C.

2. **ibi**: Cirta was taken from Adherbal by Jugurtha (cf. 21,2) in 112 B. C. When the latter surrendered it to the Romans we are not told.

3. **operae pretium fore**: sc. sibi, "would be worth his effort."

4. **nam**: explains why he was anxious for a battle. **id**: in apposition to Bocchi . . . imminuere, "to lessen Bocchus' (chance of) peace," i.e. with the Romans, by involving him in an engagement against them. **moras agitando**:=cunctando.

82. 1. **consueverat**: sc. facere. **cognitis, etc.**: "after making the acquaintance of," etc. **is . . . acceserat**: "these were added as a new enemy;" *is* agrees by attraction with the predicate.

2. **nam**: (he feared this) "for," etc. **supra . . . honestum**: "more than was right or beseeming." **linguam**: we should expect the dative, since the accusative with moderari is unusual till after the Augustan age. **vir egregius**: concessive. **artibus**: "traits of character." **nimis molliter . . . pati**: "he bore his chagrin with too little manliness."

3. **in superbiam, etc.**: "attributed to his pride;" from vortebant a verb of "saying" is to be supplied with alii and multi following. **quod . . . eriperetur**: depends on accensum esse to be supplied. **iniuria sua**: "the wrong done himself;" cf. note 14,8. **excruciatum**: "vexed;" esse is understood from following fuisse. **neque tam anxie, etc.**: "and that he would not have been so pained;" aegre, indigne, moleste ferre are more usual. **traderetur**: cf. note 59,3 ni . . . facerent.

83. 1. **eo dolore**:=eius rei dolore; cf. 54,4 ea gratia. **stultitiae**: sc. esse, genitive of quality. **alienam . . . suo**: emphatic contrast is brought out by chiasmus. **habere**: sc. illum. **tum**: for nunc of the direct, as in 81,1. **esset . . . velint**: cf. note 15,1 superatus sit, etc. **incipere**: sc. bellum; so with deponi. Observe the adversative asyndeton and sententia. **perditis**: sc. rebus.

2. **si . . . fieret**: "if that same opportunity (for peace) were open to him" (Jugurtha); cf. § 1 magnam copiam, etc. **conventura**: i.e. would be amicably settled.

3. **contra**: "in reply to." **intactum**: i.e. without hostilities.

Fifth Year (107 B. C.): Marius' first year in command (chapters 84-91).

84. 1. **iussit**: "assigned," a technical term; cf. note 29,7. **multus . . . instare**: "attacked often and violently;" cf. Thucyd. 4,22,2 *ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολὺς ἐνέκειτο.* **ex victis illis spolia**: "as spoil in his victory over them;" cf. Plut. Marius, 9 "For he proclaimed it everywhere . . . that his consulship was a spoil he had taken from the effeminate rich noblemen through his own valor." **magnificentia . . . dolentia**: chiasmus, "boastful of himself and painful to them." The participle dolens used actively is very rare; cf. Ovid. Metam. 4,245 nil fertur . . . vidisse dolentius.

2. **supplementum**: "reinforcements." **populis et regibus**: i.e. independent states and monarchies; socii means the Italian while ex Latio refers to the Latin allies; cf. note 39,2 sociis et nomine Latino. **militiae . . . fama**: note the change in case, as with potiti (74,3); militiae (locative) is usually found only when opposed to domi. **ambiundo**: "by personal solicitation." **emeritis stipendiis**: ablative of quality, "with completed terms of service;" mereri stipendium="to earn a soldier's pay," hence, "to serve campaigns." Those who served the required number of years—twenty for foot, ten for horse—were called emeriti.

3. **de**: abnuere occurs more often with the accusative, as 47,4; 68,3, etc. **neque . . . putabatur**: "military service was believed to be distasteful to the common people;" volenti (sc. esse) by a Greek idiom modifies the dative of reference; cf. Thucyd. 2,3,2 *τῷ γὰρ πλήθει τῶν Πλαταιῶν οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν,* "it was not the wish of the great body of the Plataeans." See A. 378,2,N.;G.353,N,2;H.430,2. The construction appears first in Sallust. **belli usum**: "the requisites for war," abstract for concrete—i.e. soldiers. **studia volgi**: the senate sought to embarrass Marius, thinking that success in raising the levy would lose him the support of the people, while failure to do so would leave him without the necessary soldiers.

4. **animis trahebant**: "cherished the thought that," etc. **non paulum**: litotes.

5. **omnibus**: neuter. **simul et**: cf. note 20,1. **exagitandi**: "of attacking."

85. Marius' speech is a well-drawn picture of the democratic consul, amplifying the former sketch of his life and character (chapter 63). Nowhere is Sallust's use of antithesis and other rhetorical devices better seen than in this comparison which Marius makes between himself and the nobility. The speech abounds in archaisms and vulgarisms, as an adaptation to the character and times of the speaker.

1. **scio ego**: an introductory formula, as in Cato's speeches and elsewhere; cf. Livy 39,37,9 scio ego, Appi Claudi, hanc orationem, etc. At the beginning of speeches credo ego also is found; cf. Cic. Rosc. Amer. 1 credo ego vos, iudices, mirari, etc. **Quirites**: cf. note 14,1 patres conscripti. **non eisdem**: litotes for valde dissimilibus. The meaning is: the character of most men, when seeking office, is wholly different from that shown in filling the office, once it is obtained. **et**: occasionally used for atque (ac) in comparisons. **gerere**: sc. id, "perform its duties." **superbiam**: frequently mentioned in this speech (§§ 13; 19; 38; 45; 47) by way of reproach to the nobility; cf. Vell. Pater. 2,11,1 (Marius) criminatus naturalem nobilitatis superbiam. Note that superbiam is the opposite of supplices, modicos, while ignaviam is opposed to industrios.

2. **contra ea**: the subject; videtur="seems well, right," etc. **nam . . . est**: a more careful speaker would have used the infinitive, as in peti debere. It is characteristic of folkspeech to merge two (possible) constructions into one. Cf. § 10 num . . . melius sit; § 45 primum.

3. **cum . . . beneficio**: "with (i.e. because of) your very great kindness;" the bestowal of the consulship is meant. **sustineo**: the indicative in an indirect question is archaic. **simul**: construe simul bellum parare. **nolis**: indefinite 2nd person; cf. 1,1 invenias. **occursantis**: "the hostile," lit. "those who oppose." That many opposed Marius' elevation to honors we learn from Cic. Verr. 5,70,181 C. Marium . . . vidimus non mediocribus inimicitiis ac laboribus contendere. **opinione . . . asperius est**: "is more difficult than is thought:" cf. Cato (Jordan p. 33)

[scio] ego . . . rem publicam curare industrie summum periculum esse.

4. **deliquere**: i.e. fail in public duty. **clientelae**:=clientes; cf. 66,1 servitia. **praesidio adsunt**:=praesidio sunt; colloquial fullness, as § 5 illud; § 10 id; § 23 et profecto, etc.; § 49 liberis, uti . . . forent. **mihi**: adversative asyndeton. **nam, etc.**: "for my other supports (i.e. all except virtus and innocentia) are insufficient."

5. **favere**: sc. mihi. **bene facta**:=archaic for beneficia, or recte facta. **procedunt**: "benefit." **locum invadundi**: absolutely, "opportunity for attack."

6. **capiamini**:=decipiamini, i.e. that their confidence in him be not misplaced. **frustra sint**: "may be unsuccessful," i.e. in quaerendo locum vadendi; used of persons frustra esse is rare, except in comedy, as Plaut. Merc. 528 nunc, mulier, ne tu frustra sis, mea non es.

7. **ita . . . fui**: colloquial for ita me gessi. **consueta habeam**: "am accustomed to;" for habere with a participle, cf. note 10,1 falsum me habuit.

8. **non est consilium**: with such phrases the infinitive is more frequent; cf. 89,3 aggredi tempus visum est.

9. **potestatibus**: cf. 63,5. **temperare**: absolutely for modum servare; cf. 45,1 tanta . . . moderatum. **per ambitionem**: opposed to omnem aetatem, "during their canvass." **ex consuetudine, etc.**: "has become natural through habit;" vortit is intransitive, as convortit (20,4).

10. **quaeso**: old form of quaero, and usually following one or more words. **num . . . melius sit**: i.e. Marius' appointment. We have here a mingling of two constructions (cf. § 2 nam . . . est)=num melius sit ita mutare ut and num melius sit si **quem id**: explanatory of si quem . . . mittatis. **globo**: a military term, used here in the same contemptuous sense as factio (29,2). **veteris prosapiae**: "of ancient lineage;" prosapia is an archaic word, probably traceable to Cato's Origines (cf. Nonius 1,91 (M)). **imaginum**: i.e. one who has many ancestral masks (cf. note 4,5) to display. **nullius stipendi**: "no military expe-

rience." **omnium**: neuter; cf. note 70,2 maioribus adstricto. **trepidet . . . sumat**: asyndeton.

12. **acta . . . praecepta**: chiasmus. **praeposteri**: "absurd," lit. "who put the last first." **nam gerere, etc.**: "for (in their case) administering the office (gerere) comes after the election (fieri), but in importance (re) and practical experience (usu) it comes first;" cf. Demosth. Olynth. 3,15 *τὸ γὰρ πράττειν τοῦ λέγειν καὶ χειροτονεῖν ὕστερον ὂν τῇ τάξει, πρότερον τῇ δυνάμει καὶ κρεῖττόν ἐστιν*, "action is posterior in order to speaking and voting, but in effect it is prior and superior."

13. **illorum superbia**: abstract for concrete. **quae . . . didici**: anaphora; litteris="from books." Cf. Cic. Font. 15,43 (of Marius and others) non litteris homines ad rei militaris scientiam, sed rebus gestis ac victoriis eruditi.

14. **novitatem**: "recent elevation to rank." **mihi fortuna, etc.**: "I am reproached for humble birth, they for misdeeds;" note the anaphora.

15. **quamquam**: "and yet;" corrective and used (as rarely) in an independent clause. **sed fortissumum, etc.**: "but the bravest are the noblest born."

18. **etiam**: its use and position gives emphasis to both periculis and meis.

20. **ne**: "assuredly;" cf. note 14,21 ne ille . . . reddat. **falsi sunt**: "are deceived;" cf. note 10,1 falsum me habuit.

21. **pleraque**: cf. 18,13. **memorando**: cf. 27,1 trahundo tempus.

22. **contra est**: colloquial, as § 6 frustra sint.

23. **et profecto, etc.**: a vulgar expansion for nam. **in occulto**: sc. esse.

24. **rei**: i.e. maiorum gloria. **meamet**: cf. note 4,2 memet.

25. **peperisse, etc.**: "to have won than to have inherited and then dishonored."

26. **equidem ego**: cf. 10,6. **abunde**: predicate adverb, as frustra (§6) and contra (§21). **compositam**: "well-arranged." **in . . . beneficio**: cf. § 3. **omnibus locis**: "on every occasion." **in conscientiam duceret**: "should regard as consciousness of guilt;" modestiam="self-restraint."

27. **nam**: explains non . . . reticuit (I answered this abuse for your sake, not mine) "for," etc. **ex animi mei sententia**: "according to my belief;" a standing formula used in solemn asseveration. **vera . . . bene praedicent**: "they (i.e. Marius' enemies) must speak well of the truth." **superant**: "disprove."

28. **qui**: agrees with vostra. **eorum**: sc. vestrorum consiliorum.

29. **fidei causa**: "for the purpose of inspiring confidence," i.e. in himself. **hastas**: the hasta pura (i.e. a spear without metal point) was presented as a reward for bravery. **vexillum**: a flag or streamer pendent from the end of a spear. **phaleras**: metal disks in relief, worn as ornaments by soldiers, or as trappings for horses. **advorso**: i.e. to the enemy; cf. Livy 2,23,4 ipse . . . cicatrices adverso pectore ostentabat.

30. **hae . . . haec**: agree with the predicate nouns. **quae ego meis**: for the juxtaposition of these words cf. note 1,4 suam quisque.

31. **artificio**: "rhetorical artifice."

32. **litteras Graecas**: cf. 63,3 Graeca facundia. **doctoribus**: i.e. the Greek nation. **nihil profuerant**: Plutarch (Marius, 2) says that Marius thought it ridiculous to learn the language of a people who themselves lived in bondage under others.

33. **multo optuma**: "of the very greatest value;" cf. note 6,1 multo maxume. **praesidium agitare**: cf. 55,4.

34. **neque . . . colam, etc.**: "and I shall not treat them in a niggardly manner and myself indulgently;" for arte cf. note 45,2 ceteris arte . . . statuisse.

35. **civile**: "befitting a citizen;" opposed to dominum below. **cum . . . agas**: "while you live at ease." **tute**: strengthened form of tu.

36. **celebravere**: "made renowned."

37. **quis**: sc. maiorum factis. **nos**: plural of modesty. **ex merito**: sc. petit, supplied from repetit.

38. **procul errant**: "are greatly in error;" colloquial, e.g. Ter. Eun. 245 tota erras via.

39. **parum scite**: "without taste." **histrionem**: "buffoon;" to furnish amusement for the table guests. **pluris preti**:=

maioris preti, genitive of quality; the attributive use of plus is vulgar. **coquom**: the early Romans valued the steward (vilicus) highly, but considered the cook (coquus) the lowest of menials. Later when banquets became more sumptuous the cook's position rose in importance; cf. Livy 39,6,9 tum coquus . . . et aestimatione et usu in pretio esse.

40. **munditias**: "vain indulgences;" cf. Livy 34,7,6, munditiae et ornatus, haec feminarum insignia sunt.

41. **quin ergo . . . faciant**: "by all means then let them do," etc. From the use of quin (lit. "how not?") with the indicative in hortatory questions comes its extension to hortatory subjunctive and imperatives. **ament, potent**: asyndeton; cf. 10,8 colite, observate. **aestumant**: rarely used with double accusative. **ubi . . . ibi**:=in quibus artibus . . . in illis. **habuere**: "have spent;" cf. Cat. 51,12 in obscuro vitam habent.

42. **verum non ita est**: i.e. they are unwilling to do this.

43. **nihil officiunt**: "are no detriment." **cladi sunt**: (but) "bring disaster to," etc.

45. **primum**: used carelessly, since it is not continued by a corresponding particle. **removistis**: clever flattery, inasmuch as Marius himself had brought about these results. Cicero (Att. 10,8,7.) calls him callidissimum virum. **atque**: "and even;" note atque with the last of three members; these abstracts characterize the three preceding generals, Bestia, Albinus, and Metellus. **deinde**: continues the reason for bonum habete animum begun by nam . . . removistis. **sciens**: for its use with the genitive cf. note 35,8 manufestus.

47. **capessite, etc.**: "defend (lit. "seize hold of") the cause of your state." **ceperit**: prohibitive. **consultor**: cf. 64,5. **iuxta geram**: "I shall treat alike."

48. **matura**: i.e. to reward the soldiers. **decebat**: for the indicative cf. 14,3 desideranda erant.

49. **factus est . . . optavit**: the gnomic perfect implies an action often done or never done. **liberis, uti . . . forent**:=uti liberi aeterni forent; cf. note § 4 praesidio adsunt. **magis**: sc. quam optavit.

86. 1. **aliis utilibus**: neuter.

2. **ex classibus**: i.e. the five classes, according to wealth, into which Servius Tullius divided the Roman citizens for military purposes. Only three so enrolled were eligible. Marius departed from this early custom (more maiorum), and permitted any citizen, without regard to wealth, to volunteer (uti cuiusque lubido erat). Those too poor to be included in the classes (capite censi, i.e. "rated by the head") made up the greater part of his army.

3. **factum**: sc. esse. **ab eo genere**: sc. capite censorum. **celebratus auctusque erat**: "had won fame and advancement." **opportunissumus**: sc. est. **cui neque, etc.**: "who has no concern for his own interests." **quippe . . . sunt**: "since he has none." **cum pretio**: equivalent to a condition, "if attended by gain."

4. **quam . . . erat**: brachylogy for quam is erat qui decretus erat. **profectus**: probably late in the year 107 B. C., since the year was far advanced when Marius' first campaign began; cf. 90,1 aestatis extremum erat.

87. 1. **expletis**: i.e. to their full numbers. In translating coordinate with proficiscitur. **onustum**: "rich in;" lit. "loaded with;" usually applied to the plunderers, not (as here) to the thing plundered. **omnia . . . donat**: usually a part was sold and the proceeds turned into the treasury. **viris**: i.e. by garrisons.

2. **adesse**: "took part in." **tutissumum**: sc. esse. The thought is proverbial; cf. 107,1 quanto . . . minus pepercissent, tanto tutiores fore; Livy 22,5,2 quo timoris minus sit, eo minus ferme periculi esse; Hor. Od. 3,2,14; Xenoph. Anab. 3,1,43. **armis . . .tegi**: cf. Cat. 6,5 libertatem patriam parentesque armis tegere.

3. **coaluere**: used figuratively first by Sallust and Livy.

4. **divorsi**: cf. 12,5. **difficiles**: cf. 91,7 aditu difficilis. **ita . . . speranti**: "Jugurtha had proposed this, hoping," etc. **Romanos . . . futuros**: asyndeton with invadi posse. **laxius licentiusque**: "relaxed in discipline and conduct."

88. 1. **accipitur**: Metellus was honored with a triumph and surnamed Numidicus; cf. Vell. Pater. 2,11,3 Metelli tamen

et triumphus fuit clarissumus et meritum ex virtute ei cognomen Numidici inditum.

2. **antevenire**: conative, as the two preceding infinitives, "tried to frustrate." **nihil . . . pati**: "he permitted no negligence in his own forces and no security in theirs;" cf. Tac. Agric. 20,2 nihil interim apud hostis quietum pati.

3. **fuderat**: for tense cf. 57,6 muniverat. **armis exuerat**: a military expression used of those who, being defeated, are forced to throw away their arms; cf. Caes. B. G. 3,6; Livy 21,61,9.

4. **quae . . . cognovit**: "after he found that such efforts merely gained him honor, but did nothing toward bringing the war to an end." **belli patrandi**: sc. esse; genitive of quality, with change of construction from gloriosa. **se**: cf. 61,1 ad se. **opportunissumae**: prepositional phrases are unusual with this word. **ita**: cf. note 4,5 ita dicere. A governing verb is to be supplied from statuit. **nudatum**: two ellipses are possible: (1) fore, supplied from certaturum (sc. esse) following, and so giving a rare omission with a participle; (2) iri, forming the future infinitive passive. **ea**: i.e. urbes . . . circumveniri; the plural suggests the repeated attempts.

5. **nam**: (he made no move against Bocchus) "for," etc. **velle**: sc. se.

6. **quo . . . accideret**: "might attack more unexpectedly and effectively;" rarely is accidere used of persons. **mobilitate ingeni**: "fickleness." **solitus**: sc. sit; the subjunctive auxiliary is not often omitted.

89. 1. **metu**: "threats;" cf. note 23,1 formidinem.

2. **mediocria gerebat**: "undertook unimportant operations." **ob . . . tutandos**: ob (instead of ad or causa) to express purpose is rare in Cicero, and elsewhere in Sallust only 102,12. **in manus venturum**: i.e. would engage in battle; cf. Tac. Ann. 2,80 ut venere in manus; cf. Greek εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν.

3. **intentum**: sc. esse; for the case with intentus cf. note 76,2 proelio. **tempus visum est**: tempus, "the proper time," is predicate to aggredi.

4. **Capsa**: in the southeast of Jugurtha's realm. Note the

digression here and following. **immunes . . . habebantur**: "were (held) exempt from taxes, under mild control, and on this account were considered," etc. Observe the different senses in which habebantur is used. **viris**: cf. 87,1.

5. **praeter . . . propinqua**: "except the part near the town." **serpentibus**: ablative of cause.

6. **usum belli**: cf. 84,3 with note. **una modo . . . utebantur**: "used but one stream of water, ever running and within the town, (while) the rest (used) was rain water." For cetera cf. note 61,2 ceterum.

7. **id . . . tolerabatur**: "this (scarcity) was endured," etc. **ibique et**: for -que et cf. 26,1. **quae . . . agebat**: "which (was) remote from the sea (and where people) lived rudely;" agere, by a kind of personification, is here used of the land instead of the people. **irritamenta gulae**: "appetizers." **advorsus famem, etc.**: "to satisfy hunger . . . not for indulgence," etc.

90. 1. **consul**: separated from its predicate exornat by a long and awkward parenthesis. **omnibus exploratis**: "after making all (necessary) investigations." **dis fretus**: cf. 63,1. **consilio**: "human wisdom;" translate as subject. **temptabatur**: "was threatened by." **pabulo . . . quam arvo student**: "gave more attention to pasturage than to agriculture;" arvum, lit. "arable land," is rare in the singular. **natum fuerat**: i.e. the grain; for the tense cf. note 52,3 praeceptum fuerat. **aestatis extremum**: cf. 21,2 diei extremum. **tamen**: balances the concessive idea felt in the parenthesis. **pro rei copia**: the same meaning as ex copia rerum (39,5). **satis . . . exornat**: "made his arrangements with prudence."

2. **Laris**: near Zama.

3. **Tanain**: Greek accusative from Tanais. The river cannot be identified, but it was doubtless reached by Marius in his southward march from Laris to Capsa.

91. 1. **aequaliter**: i.e. in proportion to their numbers, the divisions of infantry (centuriae) being larger than those of the cavalry (turmae). **utres**: "water-bags." **lenire**: "lessened," lit. "softened." **effecta**: sc. erat.

2. **paratos esse**: "to be in readiness;" used absolutely, not

governing uti . . . egrederentur. Cf. Caes. B. G. 2,9 nostri autem . . . ut impeditos adgrederentur, parati in armis erant. **onerare**: depends on iubet.

3. **visum**: sc. est; cf. 71,1 allatae. **consedit**: "encamped." **proxuma**: sc. nocte. **duum milium**: sc. passuum; for duum cf. 50,3.

4. **multi**: predicate, "in large numbers." **cursu**: ablative of manner, "rapidly."

5. **res trepidae**: "their state of confusion." **pars civium, etc.**: a fourth subject to coegere, "the fact that a part," etc.

6. **venum dati**: cf. note 28,1 venum ire.

7. **admissum**: sc. est. **genus humanum**: i.e. the Numidians; cf. 46,3 genus Numidarum infidum ingenio mobile. **ante neque . . . coercitum**: "hitherto unrestrained;" cf. note 2,3 incorruptus.

Sixth Year (106 B. C.): Marius' second year in command (chapters 92-101).

92. 1. **peregit**: see Appendix. **magnus . . . antea**: concessive. **coepit**: cf. 27,1 coepta with note.

2. **non bene consulta**: concessive, "even though ill-advised." Marius' rashness is enlarged on in § 6 and 94,7. **in virtutem, etc.**: "were attributed to his courage;" cf. 82,3 in superbiam. **ferre**: sc. eum. **portendi**: "revealed."

3. **deserta**: see Appendix.

4. **ac**: cf. 35,4. **haud secus**: cf. 79,6 with note.

5. **Muluccha**: the scene of the narrative now shifts some 700 miles, from Capsa in the southeast to the Muluccha river, the boundary between Numidia and Mauretania. **inter ceteram planitiem**: "in the midst of (what was) otherwise a plain;" for ceteram cf. 61,2. **satis patens**: "broad enough." **in immensum editus**: hyperbole, "rising to an enormous height;" cf. Tac. Hist. 5,11 colles in immensum editos. **nam**: explains uno . . . relicto. **omnis**: sc. mons. **natura**: ablative of cause.

7. **armorum . . . frumenti**: in this example of chiasmus the genitives are irregularly governed by different parts of speech.

machinationibus: abstract for the concrete machinis. **castellanorum**:=incolarum castelli.

9. **administrare**: absolutely, "perform their work."

93. 1. **usus fuerat**: cf. 52,3 praeceptum fuerat.

2. **aestuans**: "greatly disturbed;" cf. Cat. 23,6 nobilitas invidia aestuabat. The literal use of aestuare is of the boiling of water, or the tossing of the waves. **avorsum**: "opposite to," lit. "turned away." **animum advortit**: "noticed." **repentis**: from repere, "to creep;" for the participle cf. note 14,12 praedicantem. **ad summum montis**: cf. 21,2 diei extremum. **egressus est**: cf. 60,6 egressi.

3. **more ingeni humani**: for curiositas, found only in late authors, Latin usually employs a paraphrase; cf. Livy 21,22,7 cura ingeni humani; Petronius 111 vitium gentis humanae. **animum adorta**: sc. est, "took hold of him;" see Appendix.

4. **coaluerat**: "had grown fast." **prona**: "forward," i.e. out from the sides of the rocks. **quo . . . fert**: "in which direction the whole nature of vegetation tends;" for gignentia cf. 79,6. **in castelli . . . pervenit**: "reached safely the level floor of the fort;" note the force of per, as often in compounds. **intenti . . . aderant**: "were eagerly watching;" proeliantibus is dative with aderant.

5. **eadem**: sc. via.

6. **itineris periculique**: hendiadys. **cognitum**: supine.

7. **ex praesentibus**: (some) "of those present." **animus**: "hopes," "spirits." **praesidio . . . forent**: sc. delegit eos qui praesidio forent.

94. 1. **omnibus**: neuter. **pergit**: sc. Ligus. **qui e centuriis erant**: i.e. the quattuor centuriones (93,8). **facilius**: for facilior; cf. note 7,6 frustra erat. For foret see 11,3. **ponderis gratia**: "on account of their light weight;" pondus is vox media, as conscius (40,2). **simul et**: cf. 20,1 with note. **offensa**: "if struck;" cf. Livy 7,36,2 miles offenso scuto praebuit sonitum. **levius streperent**: "might make less noise."

2. **insolentia**: ablative of cause. **inermos**: for the form cf. 54,10. **quae**: sc. loca. **dubia nisui**: "unsafe for climbing." **potissumus**: agrees with the subject instead of the usual potissu-

mum, i.e. he rather than any one else. **digrediens**: "standing aside." **audaciam**: cf. note 7,5.

3. **ubi . . . tum**: a combination infrequent in classic authors. **toto die**: cf. 54,1 quadriduo. **testudine acta**: cf. 37,4 vineas agere. **sagittariisque**: construed, like tormentis, as ablative of instrument.

4. **agitare**: absolutely as 59,1.

5. **signa canere**: "trumpet signals were given;" signa is subject of canere (historical infinitive) here used intransitively as in 99,1. But the verb is used also transitively and with personal subject 99,1 omnis signa canere.

7. **sic forte correcta, etc.**: "thus Marius' rashness was made good by fortune, and he won fame instead of blame."

95. 1. **Sulla**: L. Cornelius Sulla (138-78 B. C.), afterwards general in the Social War, and against Mithradates. As leader of the aristocratic party at Rome, he was the great rival and enemy of Marius. **quos uti . . . cogeret**: "for whose enrollment;" quos refers to equitatu. **res**: i.e. the subject under discussion.

2. **cultuque**: cultus means character as outwardly shown, by dress, manner of living, etc. **dicere**: in the sense of scribere rarely found except in poetry. **L. Sisenna**: a younger contemporary of Sulla, who wrote of the Social War and the war between Marius and Sulla. He was one of Sallust's models, and is ranked by Cic. (Brutus, 64,228) as superior to any previous historian. **optume . . . persecutus**: sc. Sullae res, "although of all . . . he has given the ablest and most painstaking account." **parum . . . videtur**: "yet he seems to me to have spoken with too little freedom," i.e. with not enough candor. Sisenna was also of the gens Cornelia, and hence perhaps partial to Sulla.

3. **igitur**: resumptive. **iuxta atque doctissume eruditus**: "learned equally and in the highest degree." **otio luxurioso esse**: ablative of quality, "given to voluptuous ease." **remorata**: sc. eum. **nisi quod**: "except that." **de uxore . . . consuli**: sc. ab eo, "he might have acted more honorably in his marriages;" probably a general allusion to his slight regard for marriage contracts. According to Plutarch (Sulla, 6) he had several wives.

et: "and at the same time." **amicitia**: ablative of specification. **ad simulanda, etc.**: "in disguising his plans;" note simulare for dissimulare. **largitor**: "lavish with."

4. **felicissumo**: an allusion to the title Felix, assumed by Sulla in 82 B. C. for his unbroken successes against the Marian party. **super**: cf. 64,2 with note. **nam**: explains why fortuna is limited to ante civilem victoriam. **quae fecerit**: i.e. his cruel proscriptions by which thousands were put to death. The clause depends on disserere.

96. 1. **rudis, etc.**: concessive. **in paucis tempestatibus**: for the preposition cf. 28,2 in diebus. The plural indicates the separate occasions on which he gained experience.

2. **appellare**: cf. 22,5. **per se ipse**: opposed to rogantibus, hence, "of his own accord." **accipere**: sc. beneficia. **aes mutuum**: "borrowed money." **repetere**: "asked in return." **illi**: =sibi; given as Sallust's statement rather than as the purpose of Sulla. **ioca atque seria**: a proverbial combination in which both forms, ioca and iocos, are found; cf. Cic. Fin. 2,26,85 at quicum ioca, seria, ut dicitur; Livy 1,4,9 seria ac iocos celebrare.

3. **multus**:=frequens. **prava**: "thwarted." **neque . . . laedere**: said in contrast with Marius' behavior toward Metellus (64,5). **manu**: "action." **antevenire**: cf. 4,7 with note.

97. 1. **adduceret**: depends on a verb implied in nuntios misit.

2. **dubium . . . trahere**: "yet undecided was pondering over," etc. **uti antea**: cf. 80,3. **expulsi**: sc. forent, supplied from foret following.

3. **die**: for form cf. 52,3 with note. **victis**:=si victi essent. **nullo impedimento**: ablative of quality, with changed construction from munimento. **utrumque casum**: i.e. victory or defeat.

4. **simul . . . et**: used like the Greek ἅμα . . . . καί. Perhaps this is the only case in classic prose where et replaces cum inversum after simul. **consul**: used inexactly (as also 100, 3; 102,1, etc.), since Marius was now proconsul. **quivit**: note the change in subject from that used with instrui, colligere, etc. **catervatim**: "in crowds;" the first occurrence in prose. **quosque**: from quisque; the plural denotes the individual horse-

5. **capiebant**: conative. **latrocinio . . . proelio**: "a combat with robbers rather than a battle." These words are frequently opposed. **veteres notique**: see Appendix. **ob ea**: more exactly ob id. Cf. 39,2. **orbis facere**: "formed in circular bodies."

98. 1. **turma**: for cohors praetoria, "body-guard." **manu**: i.e. by personally defending or aiding. **imperare**: "give orders;" conturbatis omnibus is ablative absolute.

2. **cum tamen . . . remittere**: "yet . . . did not relax their attack." The historical infinitive with cum inversum, while grammatically dependent, is in a clause logically independent. **pro se**: "favorable to themselves." **rati**: sc. fore.

3. **ex copia rerum**: cf. 39,5. **consilium trahit**: "devised a plan;" trahit is a vigorous term for the usual capit. **quaerebat**: "required;" quaero=requiro only here in Sallust.

4. **neque minus . . . conturbatis**: "while the enemy were no less disordered;" the ablative absolute is here carelessly coordinated with the preceding clause. **pleno gradu**: "quick-march"—about four miles an hour; the ordinary pace (gradus militaris) was two and one-half to three miles an hour. **in collem**: i.e. the one not occupied by Sulla.

5. **effusi**: i.e. not in regular order.

6. **pro victoribus**:=velut si iam vicissent.

7. **Romanis . . . hortamento erant**: "greatly encouraged the Romans;" hortamentum (=hortatio) is not found in Cicero or Caesar.

99. 1. **signa canere**: see below. **per vigilias**: the end of each of the four watches, when the guard was relieved, was announced by a blast of the trumpet or horn. **signa canere**: here canere is transitive, differing from the use in the preceding sentence; cf. 94,1. **cohortium**: i.e. of the allies.

3. **strepitu . . . formidine**: these ablatives of cause are separated by two ablatives absolute. Note the asyndeton.

100. 1. **uti coeperat, in hiberna**: cf. 97,3 in hiberna proficiscentem. See Appendix. **agere**:=agitare, "spend the time." **quadrato agmine**: cf. note 46,6. The army in four divisions

formed a square, with the baggage in the middle. This arrangement afforded defense in front, on the flanks, and in the rear.

2. **apud dextumos**: "on the extreme right;" this superlative is archaic. **curabat**: used here both absolutely (cf. 46,7; 57,2, etc.), and with an object (cohortis).

4. **item**: short for esse armatos intentosque; cf. Cat. 27,2 ipse cum telo esse, item alios iubere. **neque secus**: cf. 79,6. The historical infinitive (facere) is rare in a comparative clause; cf. Livy 2,55,5 eo infestius . . . spoliare lictor. **excubitum**: "to keep watch." **diffidentia**: "because of mistrust;" note that futurum (sc. esse) depends on a verbal noun—an unusual construction. The singular is archaic, early writers frequently using futurum without regard to agreement in number or gender. **quam . . . volentibus esset**: "as that the labor shared by the general might be agreeable to the soldiers;" cf. 84,3 volenti.

5. **pudore . . . malo**: "by a sense of honor rather than by punishment." So Agricola appealed to his soldiers; cf. Tac. Agric. 7 maluit videri invenisse bonos quam fecisse. malum= poenam is archaic. **pars**: sc. aiebant eum. **habuisse**: used, with changed construction, both with consuetam (cf. 85,7) and with voluptati, "that he had been accustomed to hardships and . . . considered a pleasure," etc. **nisi tamen**: adversative to a preceding ellipsis, (I give no personal opinion) "except however." **pariter . . . gesta**: "was conducted just as well and properly," etc.

101. 1. **quarto . . . die**: i.e. of the march resumed after the battle (99,3). **intellegitur**: impersonal, hence hostes is subject of adesse.

2. **atque**: "and yet."

3. **ex omnibus**: sc. suis. **aeque aliquos . . . venturos**: "with equal chances some (at least) of his men would attack the enemy in the rear," i.e. no matter which way the Romans marched one of his divisions would be ready to fall upon the rear.

4. **ceteri**: sc. equites Sullae. **ab**: "from." **venerant**: repeated action.

5. **adfuerant**: the subject qui is supplied from preceding quos; cf. note 14,16. **invadunt**: for the plural cf. 35,2 urgeat.

6. **agebat**: "was engaged." **Numida**: sc. Iugurtha; so 106,3, etc. **ad pedites**: probably in the rear. **convortit**: cf. 20,4. **oblitum**: from oblinere, "to smear." **satis impigre, etc.**: "by vigorously cutting down our infantry."

7. **milites**: sc. Romani. **terrentur**: properly with atrocitate, and by zeugma with fide, with which moventur would be more exact.

8. **quos advorsum**: the inversion of the preposition is called anastrophe; cf. 19,3 vorsus.

9. **adeptam**: passive.

11. **tum spectaculum, etc.**: this description is very like that given by Tacitus, Agric. 37 tum vero . . . grande et atrox spectaculum: sequi, vulnerare, capere. **sequi, fugere etc.**: asyndeton; note that in these historical infinitives there is no limitation to particular persons. **afflicti**: sc. esse, "dashed to the ground." **niti**: sc. ut surgerent. **qua visus erat**: qua=qua parte; visus is a noun, "as far as vision could extend." **infectus**: humus is masculine here, but feminine 53,1.

102. Sulla's speech and that of Bocchus (chapter 110) are not speech and reply, but are divided between their two meetings. The reply to Sulla is in indirect form (102,12f.), while that to Bocchus is merely alluded to (111,1).

1. **post ea loci**: cf. 63,6 ad id locorum. **haud dubie victor**: note that the adverb here (cf. 76,5 ante), as in poetry and late prose, is attributive; cf. Vergil, Aen. 1,21 populum late regem.

2. **post diem . . . quam**:=die quinto post quam. **verbis**: cf. 21,4. **mitteret**: petere without ut is unusual in Cicero and Caesar. **velle**: sc. eum.

3. **acciti**: sc. a Boccho; being summoned we should expect them to hear Bocchus before speaking themselves. **avorsum**: sc. a pace, "if disinclined to peace."

4. **facundiae . . . concessum**: sc. est, i.e. Sulla, although more eloquent, was younger. Seniority would naturally make Manlius the spokesman.

5. **Rex Bocche**: cf. note 14,1 patres conscripti. **cum . . . monuere**: "in that the gods have directed you;" with verbs and

expressions of emotion cum (=quod or quia) is used with the indicative, usually in archaic style as Plaut. Men. 831 insanire me aiunt, quom ipsi insaniunt. See A. 549,a; G. 580, N.1; B. 290,1; H. 599. **talem virum**: cf. 6,3. Sulla cleverly appeals to the barbarian's weakness. **persequi**: explanatory of acerbam necessitudinem, "the unwelcome necessity of punishing," etc.

6. **rati**: sc. sunt; by synesis with populo Romano.

7. **in quo**: "in which case." **offensae . . . par ac**: "very little (opportunity for) friction, (but) as much good will as if," etc. **parentis**: "subjects;" cf. note 3,2. For abunde cf. 43,3 affatim. **fuit**: gnomic perfect; cf. 85,49 factus est . . . optavit. **hoc**: i.e. friendship.

9. **pleraque**: neuter, governing humanarum rerum. **per illam licet**: "she (sc. Fortuna) allows."

10. **multa atque opportuna**: "many suitable ways." **superes**: "compensate for" (lit. "surpass").

11. **in pectus . . . demitte**: equivalent to a verb of remembering, hence followed by the accusative with the infinitive. **victum esse**: "outdone." **nam**: (of her success against foes I say nothing) "for," etc.

12. **pro delicto**: "in excuse of his offense." **ob regnum tutandum**: cf. note 89,2.

13. **expulerit**: here primary sequence after an historical present, but secondary in § 14 liceret. Bocchus makes this statement to excuse himself to the Romans. According to 97,2 he was to be given a third of Numidia by Jugurtha in return for his help against the Romans. **nequivisse**: supply se, as also with repulsum.

14. **ac tum**: cf. 81,1 tum. See Appendix.

15. **copia facta**: "after permission was granted," i.e. legatos mittendi. **animus**: "purpose."

Seventh Year (105 B. C.): Marius' third year in command (chapters 103-114).

103. 1. **hibernaculis**: "winter tents." **sola**: when qualifying locus or terra, solus=desertus; cf. Cic. Div. 1,28,59 cum

in locis solis maestus errares. **perfugas omnis**: in apposition with praesidium, "a garrison (made up) wholly of deserters."

2. **rursus**: sc. consilio mutato, i.e. contrary to 102,15 he now plans to negotiate again with the Romans. **venerant**:= evenerant. **ingenia validissuma erant**: "abilities were pre-eminent."

3. **si placeat**: sc. Mario.

4. **sine decore**: i.e. without the insignia of their rank. **pro praetore**: cf. 36,4 with note.

5. **vanis**: "faithless." **accurate**: "courteously."

6. **largitio**: "profuse liberality," i.e. for purposes of corruption. **nisi pariter volens**: sc. putabatur, "without being considered in like degree kind-hearted." **in benignitate**: i.e. as proofs of "kindness."

7. **utilia . . . benevolentiae**: change from adjective to predicate genitive, "advantageous (i.e. to the success of their mission) or an evidence of his (Bocchus') good will." **Sulla . . . pollicito**: the perfect participle of a deponent used actively in the ablative absolute is generally intransitive. Sallust is the first to employ a deponent participle in the ablative governing an accusative object.

104. 1. **confecto**: see Appendix. **redit**: see Appendix. **ab Utica**: cf. 61,1 ab Zama.

2. **interea**: i.e. until the ratification of the peace proposal. **fit, et ab consule**: see Appendix. **ferocius decernunt**: "voted for harsher measures." They opposed the truce in the war council. **in advorsa**: "to opposite" (extremes).

3. **tres . . . duo**: in distributive apposition with Mauri. **accepit**: "heard of."

4. **deprecati sunt**: "they said by way of excusing him."

5. **paenitet**: sc. eum. **gratiam facit**: archaic for veniam dat; so Cat. 52,8 delicti gratiam fecissem.

105. 1. **consuleretur**: "might take counsel."

2. **Balearium**: the Balearic islanders were noted slingers; so the Cretans as bowmen. Cf. Caes. B. G. 2,7 Cretas sagittarios et funditores Baleares subsidio oppidanis mittit. **Paelignа**: the Paeligni were a mountain tribe of Sabine origin. Their

chief cities were Sulmo, the birth place of Ovid, and Corfinium, the capital of the Italian tribes in the Social War of 90 B. C. **velitaribus armis**: i.e. light arms such as the velites carried—a small shield, short javelins, and a Spanish sword. **itineris properandi**: cf. 37,4 properare. **neque his secus, etc.**: "and yet they were protected equally as well by these as by other arms," etc. **advorsum**: see Appendix.

3. **mille**: construe after non amplius. **Sullae . . . efficiebant**: "presented to Sulla and all the others (the appearance of) a number greater than the reality, and excited," etc. For hostilem cf. 41,2.

4. **se . . . expedire**: cf. Livy 38,21,2 expediunt sese ad pugnam. **temptare, intendere**: "tried and made ready." **aliquantus**: cf. 74,3 with note. **quippe, etc.**: "as was natural in victors, and especially against those," etc.

106. 1. **quaestorem**: sc. Sullam.

2. **incerto voltu**: "with perplexed look;" cf. Cic. Cluent. 19,54 suspensus incertusque vultus.

3. **credere**: supply dicit from preceding negat. **pestis**: "destruction." **proditis**: sc. iis. **ducebat**: for the mood cf. 16,2. **potius quam . . . parceret**: "rather than (try to) save," etc. After a comparative and quam the infinitive construction in indirect discourse is usually continued. But here, as often in early and post-Augustan Latin, the subjunctive is found. **interiturae**: cf. 35,10 perituram.

4. **proficisceretur**: see Appendix. **cenatos**: "having dined;" cenatus, as some other participles originally active as well as passive, has here retained its active meaning. Construe esse with in castris. **silentio**: ablative of manner.

5. **duum**: cf. 50,3. **manu vindicandum**: "that punishment ought to be inflicted."

6. **apud illum**: "in his case;" apud for in with the ablative is frequent in vulgar speech.

107. 1. **iniuria**: passive in sense, i.e. from suffering violence. **strenuis**: dative of agent. **quanto . . . pepercissent, etc.**: for the thought cf. note 37,2. **armaverit**: note change in

tense, and cf. 15,1 superatus sit. **vortere, etc.**: depends also on decere, "to turn to the enemy the part of the body unprotected (i.e. by arms) and blind;" cf. Xenoph. Cyrop. 3,3,45 τὰ τυφλὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἄοπλα καὶ ἄχειρα ταῦτα ἐναντία τάττειν τοῖς πολεμίοις, "to turn the blind, unarmed, and handless parts of the body to the enemy."

2. **hostilia faceret**: "was playing the part of an enemy."

3. **ac magis**: "but rather;" from nihil an affirmative subject must be supplied. Note the adversative use of ac when following a negative, as Caes. B. G. 4,35 impetum hostes ferre non potuerunt ac terga verterunt.

4. **haberet**: sc. Iugurtha. **credere**: sc. se. **ipse filius**: sc. Volux.

6. **ea res**: "this course." **acciderant**: "had rushed upon him;" used personally as 88,6.

108. 1. **multum . . . agebat**: "associated much and intimately." **orator . . . speculatum**: "to be his representative and slyly to observe." Note again Sallust's fondness for change in construction. orator=legatus, as frequently of one sent officially; cf. Livy 1,15,5 Veientes pacem petitum oratores Romam mittunt. **bona**: "excellent qualities." **carus acceptusque**: sc. erat.

2. **ilico**: "forthwith." **paratum**: sc. esse. **tempus**: "the hour." **consulto . . . habere**: "that he was purposely keeping all relations with him (Jugurtha) unbroken." This gives the reason why Sulla need not fear the presence of Aspar. See Appendix. **quo res . . . gereretur**: "to the end that their common interests might be arranged with greater freedom," i.e. Jugurtha would not be suspicious if his messenger were present. **ab insidiis . . . nequivisse**: impersonal, "that it had not been possible in any other way to guard against his (Jugurtha's) treachery," i.e. than by having Aspar present at the first meeting. The plot against Jugurtha was to be discussed at a secret meeting; cf. 109,4.

3. **comperior**: cf. note 45,1. **Punica fide**: proverbial with the Romans for treachery, as Attica fides for good faith; cf. Livy 21,4,9 (Hannibal) perfidia plus quam Punica. **ob ea . . .**

praedicabat: "for the reasons proclaimed by him." **attinuisse**: =retinuisse, "held in suspense;" so in comedy, but not in Cicero or Caesar.

109. 1. **responderentur**: i.e. in the presence of Aspar.

2. **voluerat**: sc. Bocchus. **congressi**: sc. sunt; cf. 71,1. **agitaturus foret**: the future active participle with foret occurs first in Nepos, then in Sallust (only here), and in Livy.

3. **praeceptum fuerat**: sc. a Sulla. Cf. 52,3 with note. **ac**: supply dicit from iubet. **etiam nunc**: "as yet."

4. **sanctus**: "trustworthy."

110. Bocchus' speech; cf. 102.

1. **rex maxumus**: opposed to privato homini, which is used not in the military sense, but of one other than a ruling prince. The contrast (a flattery to Sulla), together with ego used six times (cf.10,1), fitly characterizes despotic pride.

2. **nullius**: masculine depending on indigui (from indigere), "while I stood in need of no man."

3. **id imminutum**: sc. esse, "that this is lessened," i.e. his independence. **fuerit**: eguisse is subject with pretium as predicate, "for my having at last become dependent, your friendship will be (ample) reward." The future perfect is used in familiar speech of that which is confidently anticipated.

4. **id adeo**: "this very thing," i.e. the truth of the statement just made. **arma, viros,** etc.: asyndeton, as also in following sume, utere. **numquam . . . putaveris**: "never suppose that my gratitude to you has been paid." The debt he owed was for Sulla's aid to his unfortunate legates (103,5). **integra**: "unchanged."

6. **armatos armis**: emphatically juxtaposed.

7. **id omitto**: "that I (now) forego," i.e. tutari meos fines. **me et Micipsam**:=meum et Micipsae regnum. **non egrediar**: "I shall not go beyond;" in this sense found with the accusative also in Caesar and Livy.

8. **haud repulsus abibis**: for haud with a participle cf. note 17,2. Observe the litotes and hexameter ending.

111. 1. **multis**: sc. verbis. **quod polliceatur**: "his promises," i.e. to preserve neutrality, etc. between Jugurtha and the

Romans. Note the present after the historical perfect. **non . . . habituros**: "would not regard as a favor;" we should expect in gratia, as in amicis habere (7,6) and in benignitate habebantur (103,6). But in gratiam (as in potestatem 112,3) arises out of a colloquial combination of in gratiam accipere et in ea habere. **faciundum ei aliquid**: see Appendix. **quod . . . videretur**: "which seemed more to their (the Romans') interest than to his (Bocchus') own"; referre here has a double construction: (1) the genitive of the personal pronoun; (2) a corresponding possessive in the ablative singular feminine. **id adeo in promptu esse**: "the opportunity for this very thing was at hand." **copiam . . . haberet**:=copiam Iugurthae tradendi haberet. **nunc**: since in indirect statement we should expect tunc, and the following tunc either to be omitted or replaced by another word.

2. **intervenisse**: supply dicere from negitare. **cognationem**: blood relationship is not elsewhere mentioned. Jugurtha married Bocchus' daughter (80,6). **fluxa fide usus**: "if he wavered in his faith." **erant**: cf. 16,2 obtinuerat.

3. **lenitur**: "he yielded."

4. **pacem**: i.e. between Rome and Jugurtha.

112. 1. **et rex**: see Appendix. **cognitum**: sc. esse. **poni**: "brought to a close;" cf. note 20,5 bellum sumere.

2. **cuncta edoctus**: "fully instructed;" with the passive of doceo the accusative of the thing is often retained; cf. Cat. 45,1 Cicero per legatos cuncta edoctus. **properato itinere**: "post-haste;" cf. 37,4; 105,2. **conventam**: "agreed upon;" the passive of an intransitive used in an active sense (=quae convenit) is archaic. Cf. Cic. Cat. 4,6,12 deflagrati imperii=imperii quod deflagravit.

3. **iussu**: cf. 39,3 iniussu. **neque . . . relictum iri**: "would not be left in the lurch;" the future infinitive passive is usually replaced in classical writers by fore, or futurum esse, ut.

113. 1. **secum . . . volvens**: "having pondered for a long time;" the aoristic use of the present participle is rare in classic authors, but frequent in Tacitus and later writers. **dolo**

. . . **cunctatus**: supply promiserit as the verb of the indirect question. The ablative and the participle both express cause.

3. **voltu . . . varius**: "changing alike in countenance and in resolution." **quae . . . patefecisse**: "which (outward emotions), despite his silence, clearly betrayed the secret thoughts of his heart." For scilicet cf. 4,6.

6. **inermis**: ablative; cf. 54,10.

114. 1. **per idem tempus**: i.e. Oct. 6, 105 B. C. **Gallos**: the Cimbri and the Teutones. Recent criticism has shown, as opposed to the earlier view, that probably both of these tribes—certainly the Cimbri—were of Celtic origin. **quo metu**:= metu cuius rei.

2. **illimque**: illim is an old form for illinc, "and from that time." **sic habuere**: cf. note 4,5 ita dicere. **alia omnia . . . prona esse**: "that all other things (i.e. all other nations) yield to their valor." **cum Gallis**: adversative asyndeton. **confectum est**: in this abrupt close Sallust tells nothing of how Bocchus was satisfied, nothing of the settlement of affairs in Numidia, or of the fate of Jugurtha. According to Plutarch (Marius, 12) he was led in Marius' triumph and then cast into prison to die of starvation. **Kalendis Ianuariis**: i.e. of 104 B. C.

APPENDIX

10. 1. **si genuissem**: liberis is found in all the Mss., but bracketed by some editors, who make si genuissem apply to Jugurtha on the ground: (1) that Micipsa probably had children at the time of Jugurtha's adoption, (2) that ob beneficia otherwise qualifies liberis—clearly not the sense.

14. 3. **posse me**: this is the reading of P C, and the one adopted by Eussner, Schmalz, and others. Jordan with V reads posse, referring to a like sequence in 24,9.

14. 24. **neu iure**: so V C; Jordan's reading neu vivere (from ne vivere of P C) seems to be an interpolation from the following sentence.

31. 2. **quindecim**: probably corrupt, the Mss. varying between X, XII, XV, XX, with the better ones in favor of XV. However, some editors read XX as a round number and one more suitable if Memmius means the period from the death of Tiberius Gracchus to his own time, i.e. 132-111 B. C.

32. 1. **dicundo**: the reading of P C is indicendo, which cannot be right. Jordan suggests that contione has fallen out between in and dicendo; others that nobilitatem has been lost. Still others would read incusando or vindicando.

32. 4. **animos . . . invaserat**: the best Mss. have in preceding animos. But since in all other cases Sallust omits in with invadere (cf. especially Cat. 36,5) editors generally omit the preposition here.

49. 4. **conspicatur**: adopted by most editors on the authority of the grammarians Donatus and Priscian. The reading of P C is conspicitur.

53. 5. **fessi**: P C read fessi laetique, while later codices

have fessi lassique. Dietsch regards the original reading as fessi laetique victoria, and thinks that victoria having been lost laeti (then unmeaning) was changed to lassi. Jordan thinks laetique was inserted in an effort to balance the following instructi intentique.

53. 8. **mutatur**: Priscian (III, 296 K) is authority for this reading against exortum of the Mss.

63. 7. **et is**: so Eussner and Schmalz; Jordan places et before indignus. The best Mss. omit *is* entirely.

92. 1. **peregit**: a word is missing here in the best Mss.; peregit, the reading of some of the inferior ones, is used nowhere else by Sallust in this sense. Conjectures such as egit and efficit have been advanced.

92. 3. **deserta**: supplied by a few Mss. for some participle or phrase missing in the better codices.

93. 3. **animum adorta**: the best of many readings proposed for animum advortit of P C. The latter yields no sense, however, and is probably an insertion from the preceding paragraph. Later Mss. read vertit and accendit. Jordan believes some such words as intentius eniti have slipped out of the text. Other editors propose invasit and alio vertit.

97. 5. **veteres notique**: for veteres novique of the Mss., which cannot be correct. Jordan supposes that something has been lost before et ob, etc., and that veteres novique has been supplied from 87,3.

100. 1. **coeperat, in hiberna**: a gap occurs here in all the important codices. Dietsch thinks pergit, or some similar word, has fallen out.

102. 14. **ac tum**: the reading of P C for which Jordan needlessly substitutes actutum.

104. 1. **confecto**: the unanimous reading of (Maurenbrecher's classes) J and O; Jordan writes infecto.

104. 1. **redit**: (Maurenbrecher); rediit (Jordan).

104. 2. **fit, et ab consule**: fit ab consule (Jordan).

105. 2. **advorsum**: so J and O; Jordan reads advorsus.

106. 4. **proficisceretur**: so J and O; Jordan reads proficiscerentur.

108. 2. **consulto**: with Schmalz, Meiser, Wirz, and others for consulta (Jordan). The clause neu . . . pertimesceret in some Mss. is written above the line and following consulto . . . habere.

111. 1. **faciundum ei aliquid**; with Maurenbrecher, and Schmalz for faciundum et . . . aliquid of the better Mss.

112. 1. **et rex**: with class J and other Mss. against Jordan's at rex.